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CONTENTS

THREE SPEECHES BY FRED HAMPTON:	
"Power Anywhere Where There's People".....	1
"It's A Class Struggle, Godamnit!".....	8
"We Have To Protect Our Leaders".....	21
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE Against The Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party	
By Dan Stern.....	24
TASKS of Cadres In Organizing Black Workers	
By C.L. Marvin.....	31
THE Role of the New Afrikan Historian	
By Mike McCoy.....	34
ON National Democratic Revolution, Mass Organization, and Communication	
Networks, By Max Stanford (A. Muhammad Ahmed).....	36
CAPITALISM and the Black Experience	
By Kenid Abdul Batin.....	44
ON Our Use of the Word "Comrad"	
By Atiba Shanna.....	46

"POWER ANYWHERE WHERE THERE'S PEOPLE!"

Three Speeches by Fred Hampton

Introduction

Fred Hampton was the Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. He and Mark Clark, Defense Captain of the Peoria Chapter of the BPP, were assassinated by Chicago police, in cooperation with the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, on December 4, 1969. Below are three unedited speeches given by Fred Hampton, transcribed from taped copies of the speeches, which were originally printed in pamphlet form by the Illinois Chapter of the BPP.

We are presenting the speeches here as part of our Reprint Series-- part of our contribution to the effort to overcome the obstacles placed before the regeneration of a New Afrikan revolutionary movement by "historical discontinuity."

The present activity surrounding the rebuilding of the national liberation movement constitutes the making of history/social development, and, we believe, along with Regis Debray, that "In practice, history, because it is profoundly dialectical, only allows of innovations which develop from an earlier state of affairs, or an earlier stage of development, already familiar to the masses of the people...."

A.S.

Power Anywhere Where There's People!

Power anywhere where there's people. Power anywhere where there's people. Let me give you an example of teaching people. Basically, the way they learn is observation and participation. You know a lot of us go around and joke ourselves and believe that the masses have PhD's, but that's not true. And even if they did, it wouldn't make any difference. Because with some things you have to learn by seeing it or either participating in it. And you know yourselves that there are people walking around your community today that have all types of degrees that should be at this meeting but are not here. Right? Because you can have as many degrees as a thermometer. If you don't have any practice, then you can't walk across the street and chew gum at the same time.

Let me tell you how Huey P. Newton, the leader, the organizer, the founder, the main man of the Black Panther Party, went about it.

The community had a problem out there in California. There was an intersection, a four-way intersection; a lot of people were getting killed--cars running over them, and so the people went down and redressed their grievances to the government. You've done it before. I know you people in the community have. And they came back and the pigs said "No! You can't have any...." Oh, they don't usually say you can't have it; they've gotten a little hipper than that now. That's what those degrees on the thermometer will get you. They tell you "Okay, we'll deal with it; why don't you come back next meeting and waste some time."

And they get you wound up in an excursion of futility, and you be in a cycle of insaneness, and you be goin' back and goin' back, and goin' back, and goin' back so many time that you're already crazy.

So they tell you, they say, "Okay niggers, what you want?" And then you jump up and you say, "Well, it's been so long, we don't know what we want." and then you walk out of the meeting and you're gone and they say, "Well, you niggers had your chance, didn't you."

Let me tell you what Huey P. Newton did.

Huey Newton went and got Bobby Seale, the chairman of the Black Panther Party on a national level. Bobby Seale got his 9mm--that's a pistol. Huey P. Newton got his shotgun and got some stop signs and got a hammer. Went down to the intersection, gave his shotgun to Bobby, and Bobby had his 9mm. He said, "You hold this shotgun; anybody mess with us, blow their brains out." He put those stop signs up. There were no more accidents, no more problem.

Now, they had another situation. That's not that good, you see, because it's two people dealing with a problem. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, no matter how bad they may be, cannot deal with the problem. But let me explain to you who the real heroes are.

Next time, there was a similar situation, another four-way corner. Huey went and got Bobby, went and got his 9mm, got his shotgun, got his hammer and got more stop signs. Placed those stop signs up, gave the shotgun to Bobby, told Bobby "If anybody mess with us while we're putting these stop signs up, protect the people and blow their brains out." What did the people do? They observed it again. They participated in it. Next time they had another four-way intersection. Problems there; they had accidents and death. This time, the people in the community went and got their shotguns, got their hammers, got their stop signs....

Now, let me show you how we're gonna try to do it in the Black Panther Party here. We just got back from the south side. We went out there--we went out there and we got to arguing with the pigs or the pigs got to arguing--he said, "Well, Chairman Fred, you supposed to be so bad, why don't you go and shoot some of those policemen? You always talking about you got your guns and got this, why don't you go shoot some of them?"

And I said, "You've just broken a rule. As a matter of fact, even though you have on a uniform, it doesn't make me any difference. Because I don't care if you got on nine uniforms, and 100 badges. When you step outside the realm of legality and into the realm of illegality, then I feel that you should be arrested." And I told him, "You being what they call the law of entrapment, you tried to make me do something that was wrong, you encouraged me, you tried to incite me to shoot a pig. And that ain't cool, Brother, you know the law, don't you?"

I told that pig that, I told him "You got a gun, pig?" I told him, "You gotta get your hands up against the wall. We're gonna do what they call a citizens' arrest." This fool don't know what this is. I said "Now you be just as calm as you can and don't make too many quick moves, 'cause we don't wanna have to hit you."

And I told him like he always told us, I told him, "Well, I'm here to protect you. Don't worry about a thing, I'm here for your benefit." So I sent another Brother to call the pigs--you gotta do that in a citizen's arrest. He called the pigs. Here come the pigs with carbines and shotguns, walkin' out there. They came out there talking about how they're gonna arrest Chairman Fred. And I said, "No, fool. This is the man you got to arrest. He's the one that broke the law." And what did they do? They bugged their eyes, and they couldn't stand it. You know what they did? They were so mad, they were so angry that they told me to leave.

And what happened? All those people were out there on 63rd Street. What did they do? They were around there laughing and talking with me while I was making the arrest. They looked at me while I was rapping and heard me while I was rapping. So the next time that pig comes on 63rd Street, because of the thing that our Minister of Defense calls observation and participation, that pig might be arrested by anybody!

So what did we do? We were out there educating the people. How did we educate them? Basically, the way people learn, by observation and participation. And that's what we're trying to do. That's what we got to do here in this community. And a lot of people don't understand, but there's three basic things that you got to do anytime you intend to have yourself a successful revolution.

A lot of people get the word "revolution" mixed up and they think revolution's a bad word. Revolution is nothing but like having a sore on your body and then you put something on that sore to cure that infection. And I'm telling you that we're living in an infectious society right now. I'm telling you that we're living in a sick society. We're involved in a society that produces ADC victims. We're involved in a society that produces criminals, thieves and robbers and rapers. Whenever you are in a society like that, that is a sick society. And anybody that endorses integrating into this sick society before it's cleaned up is a man who's committing a crime against the people.

If you walk past a hospital room and see a sign that says "Contaminated" and then you try to lead people into that room, either those people are mighty dumb--you understand me, cause if they weren't, they'd tell you that you are an unfair, unjust leader that does not have your followers' interests in mind. And what we're saying is simply that leaders have got to become--

we've got to start making them accountable for what they do. They're goin' around talkin' about so-and-so's an Uncle Tom so we're gonna open up a cultural center and teach him what blackness is. And this nigger is more aware than you and me and Malcolm and Martin Luther King and everybody else put together. That's right. They're the ones that are most aware. They're most aware, cause they're the ones that are gonna open up the center. They're gonna tell you where bones come from in Africa that you can't even pronounce the names. That's right. they'll be telling you about Chaka, the leader of the Bantu freedom fighters, and Jomo Kenyatta, those dingo-dingas. They'll be running all of that down to you. They know about it all. But the poitn is they do what they're doing because it is beneficial and it is profitable for them.

You see, people get involved in a lot of things that's profitable to them, and we've got to make it less profitable. We've got to make it less beneficial. I'm saying that any program that's brought into our community should be analyzed by the people of that community. It should be analyzed to see that it meets the relevant needs of that community. We don't need no niggers coming into our community to be having no company to open business for the niggers. There's too many niggers in our community that can't get crackers out of the business that they're gonna open.

We got to face some facts. That the masses are poor, that the masses belong to what you call the lower class, and when I talk about the masses, I'm talking about the white masses, I'm talking about the black masses, and the brown masses, and the yellow masses, too. We've got to face the fact that some people say you fight fire best with fire, but we say you put fire out best with water. We say you don't fight racism with racism--we're gonna fight racism with solidarity. We say you don't fight capitalism with no black capitalism; you fight capitalism with socialism.

We ain't gonna fight no reactionary pigs who run up and down the street being reactionary; we're gonna organize and dedicate ourselves to revolutionary political power and teach ourselves the specific needs of resisting the power structure, arm ourselves, and we're gonna fight reactionary pigs with INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. That's what it has to be. The people have to have the power--it belongs to the people.

We have to understand very clearly that there's a man in our community called a capitalist. Sometimes he's black and sometimes he's white. But that man has to be driven out of our community, because anybody who comes into the community to make profit off the people by exploiting them can be defined as a capitalist. And we don't care how many programs they have, how long a dashiki they have. Because political power does not flow from the sleeve of a dashiki; political power flows from the barrel of a gun--it flows from the barrel of a gun!

A lot of us running around talking about politics don't even know what politics is. did you ever see something and pull it and you take it as far as you can and it almost outstretches itself and it goes into something else? If you take it so far that it's two things? As a matter of fact, some things if you stretch it so far, it'll be another thing. Did you ever cook something so long that it turns into something else? Ain't that right? That's what we're talking about with politics.

That politics ain't nothing, but if you stretch it so long that it can't go no further, then you know what you got on your hands? You got an antagonistic contradiction. And when you take that contradiction to the highest level and stretch it as far as you can stretch it, you got what you call war. Politics is war without bloodshed, and war is politics with bloodshed. If you don't understand that, you can be a Democrat, Republican, you can be Independent, you can be anything you want to, you ain't nothing.

We don't want any of these niggers and any of these hunkies and nobody else, radicals or nobody talking about "I'm on the Independence ticket." That don't mean nothing. Democrat means you sell out the Democrats; Republican means you sell out the republicans; Independent means you're out for graft and you'll sell out to the highest bidder. You understand?

We want people who want to run on the People's Party, because the people are gonna run it whether they like it or not. The people have proved that they can run it. They run it in China, they're gonna run it right here. They can call it what they want to, they can talk about it. They can call it communism, and think that that's gonna scare somebody, but it ain't gonna scare nobody.

We had the same thing happen out on 37th Road. They came out to 37th Road where our Breakfast for Children program is, and started gettin' those women who were kind of older, around 58--that's, you know, I call that older cause I'm young. I ain't 20--right, right, right! But you see, they're gonna get them and brainwash them. And you ain't seen nothin' till you see one of them beautiful Sisters with their hair kinda startin' gettin' grey, and they ain't got many teeth, and they were tearin' them policemen up! They were tearin' 'em up! The pigs would come up to them and say, "You like communism?"

The pigs would come up to them and say, "You scared of communism?" And the Sisters would say, "No--scared of it, I ain't never heard of it."

"You like socialism?"

"No, I ain't never heard of it."

The pigs, they be crackin' up, because they enjoyed seeing these people frightened of these words.

"You like capitalism?"

"Yeah, well, that's what I live with--I like it."

"You like the Breakfast for Children program, nigger?"

"Yeah, I like it."

And the pigs say "Oh-oh." The pigs say, "Well, the Breakfast for Children program is a socialistic program. It's a communistic program."

And the women said, "Well, I tell you what, boy. I've been knowing you since you were knee-high to a grasshopper, nigger. And I don't know if I like communism and I don't know if I like socialism. But I know that that Breakfast for Children program feeds my kids, nigger. And if you put your hands on that Breakfast for Children program, I'm gonna come off this can and I'm gonna beat your ass like a...."

That's what they be saying. That's what they be saying, and it's a beautiful thing. And that's what the Breakfast for children program is. A lot of people think it's charity, but what does it do? It takes the people from a stage to another stage. Any program that's revolutionary is an advancing program. Revolution is change. Honey, if you just keep on changing, before you

know it--in fact, not even knowing what socialism is--you don't have to know what it is--they're endorsing it, they're participating in it, and they're supporting socialism.

And a lot of people will tell you, say "Well, the people don't have any theory, they need some theory. They need some theory even if they don't have any practice. And the Black Panther Party tells you that if a man tells you that he's the type of man who has you buying candy bars and eating the wrapping and throwing the candy away. He'd have you walking East when you're supposed to be walking West. It's true. If you listen to what pig says, you be walkin' outside when the sun is shining with your umbrella over your head. And when it's raining you'll be goin' outside leaving your umbrella inside. That's right. You gotta get it together. I'm saying that's what they have you doing.

Now, what do WE do? We say that the Breakfast for Children program is a socialistic program. It teaches the people basically that--by practice, we thought up and let them practice that theory and inspect that theory. What's more important? You learn something just like everybody else. Let me try to break it down to you.



You say this Brother here goes to school 8 years to be an auto mechanic. And that teacher who used to be an auto mechanic, he tells him, "Well, nigger, you gotta go on what we call on-the-job-training." And he says, "Damn, with all this theory I got, I gotta go to on-the-job-training? What for?"

He said, "On on-the-job-training he works with me. I've been here for 20 years; when I started work they didn't even have auto mechanics. I ain't got no theory, I just got a whole bunch of practice."

What happened? A car came in making a whole lot of funny noise. This Brother here go get his book. He on page one, he ain't got to page 200. I'm sitting here listening to the car. He says "What do you think it is?"

I say, "I think it's the carburator."

He says, "No, I don't see anywhere in here where it sais a carburator make no noise like that." And he says, "How do you know it's the carburator?"

I said, "Well, nigger, with all them degrees--as many as a thermometer--around 20 years ago, 19 to be exact, I was listening to the same kind of noise. And what I did was I took apart the voltage regulator and it wasn't that. Then I took apart the alternator and it wasn't that. I took apart the generator brushes and it wasn't that. I took apart the generator and it wasn't even that. After I took apart all that I finally got to the carburator and when I got to the carburator I found that that's what it was. And I told myself that--fool, next time you hear this sound you better take apart the carburator first."

How did he learn? He learned through practice.

I don't care how much theory you got, if it don't have any practice applied to it than that theory happens to be irrelevant. Right? Any theory

you get, practice it. And when you practice it you make some mistakes. When you make a mistake, you correct that theory, and then it will be corrected theory that will be able to be applied and used in any situation. That's what we've got to be able to do.

Every time I speak in a church I always try to say something, you know, about Martin Luther King. I have a lot of respect for Martin Luther King. I think he was one of the greatest orators that the country ever produced. And I listened to anyone who speaks well, because I like to listen to that. Martin Luther King said that it might look dark sometime, and it might look dark over here on the North Side. Maybe you thought the room was going to be packed with people and maybe you thought you might have to turn some people away and you might not have enough people here. Maybe some of the people you think should be here are not here and you think that, well, if they're not here then it won't be as good as we thought it could have been. And maybe you thought that you need more people here than you have here. Maybe you think that the pigs are going to be able to pressure you and put enough pressure to squash your movement even before it starts. But Martin Luther King said that he heard somewhere that only when it's dark enough can you see the stars. And we're not worried about it being dark. He said that the arm of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward heaven.

We got Huey P. Newton in jail, and eldridge Cleaver underground. And Alprentice Bunchy Carter has been murdered; Bobby Hutton and John Huggins been murdered. And a lot of people think that the Black Panther Party in a sense is giving up. But let us say this: That we've made the kind of commitment to the people that hardly anyone else has ever made.

We have decided that although some of us come from what some of you would call petty-bourgeois families, tho some of us even one day aspired to be petty-bourgeois, some of us could be in a sense on what you call the mountain top. We could be integrated into the society working with people that we may never have a chance to work with. Maybe we could be on the mountain top and maybe we wouldn't have to be hidin' when we go to speak places like this. Maybe we wouldn't have to worry about court cases and going to jail and being sick. We say that even tho all of those luxuries exist on the mountain top, we understand that you people and your problems are right here in the valley.

We in the Black Panther Party, because of our dedication and understanding went into the valley knowing that the people are in the valley, knowing that we originally came from the valley, knowing that our plight is the same plight as the people in the valley, knowing that our enemies are on the mountain top--our friends are in the valley, and even tho it's nice to be on the mountain top, we're going back to the valley. Because we understand that there's work to be done in the valley, and when we get through with this work in the valley, then we got to go to the mountain top. We're not going to the mountain top because there's capitalism on the mountain top. We're going to the mountain top because there's a motherfucker on the mountain top that's playing King, and he's been bullshitting us. And we've got to go up on the mountain top not for the purpose of living his life style and living like he lives. We've got to go up on the mountain top to make this motherfucker understand, goddamnit, that we are coming from the valley!

(Speech delivered at Olivet Church, 1969.)

"IT'S A CLASS STRUGGLE, GODAMNIT!"

What we're going to try to do, is we're going to try to rap and educate. We're glad to try to throw out some more information. And it's going to be hard to do. The Sister made a beautiful speech as far as I'm concerned. Chaka, the Deputy Minister of Information, that's his job--informing. But I'm going to try to inform you also.

One thing chaka forgot to mention that Brothers and Sisters don't do exactly the same. We don't ask for any Brother to get pregnant or anything. We don't ask no Brothers to have no babies. So that's a little different also.

After we get through speaking, for those people of you who don't think you understood all of the ideology expoused here so far, and the ideologies that I will espouse, we will have a question and answer period for them. For those people who have their feelings hurt by niggers talking about guns, we'll have a cry-in after the question and answer period. And for those white people that are here to show some type of overwhelming manifestation of guilt syndromes, and want people to cry out that they love them, after the cry-in, if we have time, we'll allow you all to have a love-in.

So now we'll get down to business. First of all, about what some people call the TRIAL. We call it a HECATOMB, we call it a hecatomb. That's spelled h-e-c-a-t-o-m-b. And I know there's enough dictionaries floating around up here to probably fill the room up, so you can check that out. It means a sacrifice. It usually means a sacrifice of an animal. So we'd like you, if you'd like to do that, so people ask you "Have you been down to the trial," tell them that you've been down or heard about the hecatomb, because that's what it is. It's a public sacrifice. It's a situation where they're trying to unjustly, illegally try our Chairman.

"...The determined will is rare, but it is not invariably benevolent. Furthermore, the American equation of success with the big times reveals an awful disrespect for human life and human achievement. This equation has placed our cities among the most dangerous in the world and has placed our youth among the most empty and most bewildered. The situation of our youth is not mysterious. Children have never been very good at listening to their elders, but they have never failed to imitate them. They must, they have no other models. That is exactly what our children are doing...."

James Baldwin, NOBODY KNOWS MY NAME

We look at it as a 1969 manifestation of the Dred Scott Decision. We look at Chairman Bobby as being the manifestation of Dred Scott in 1857. And we look at Judge Hoffman as being a manifestation of Judge Taney in 1857. Because in 1857 Dred Scott was a negro, a former slave--he was still a slave, because we're slaves--who went into the court and evidently had some type of misunderstanding about what he was in American society, where he fit in.

So he went to the Supreme Court to have Judge Taney answer him and try to clear up some mistaken ideas that he had floatin' around in his little old head. And Judge Taney did just that. Judge Taney explained to him very clearly that, "Nigger, you're nobody, you're property, you're a slave. That the systems--the legal system, the judicial system--all types of systems that are functioning in America today was set up long before you got here, brother. Because we brought you over to make money to keep what we've got going, these avaricious, greedy businessmen, to keep what we've got going, going on."

And Dred Scott couldn't understand this. There was a big rebuttal. And at that time, Judge Taney made a statement that has become famous. And that statement, maybe not in the same words but through actions and through social practice, is being manifested down at what we call the New reigstag Building at Jackson and Dearborn. It's being manifested through Judge Hoffman by saying the same thing that Judge Taney said in 1857. When he told Dred Scott, that "Nigger, a black man in America has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." And that's the same thing that Judge Hoffman is telling our Chairman every day.

And we understand. You know a lot of people have hang-ups with the Party because the Party talks about a class struggle. And the people that have those hang-ups are opportunists, and cowards, and individualists and everything that's anything but revolutionary. And they use these things as an excuse to justify and to alibi and to bonify their lack of participation in the real revolutionary struggle. So they say, "Well, I can't dig the Panther Party because the Panthers they are engrossed with dealing with oppressor country radicals, or white people, or hunkies, or what have you. They said these are some of the excuses that I use to negate really why I am not in the struggle."

We got a lot of answers for those people. First of all, we say primarily that the priority of this struggle is class. That marx, and Lenin, and Che Guevara and mao Tse Tung and anybody else that has ever said or knew or practiced anything about revolution, always said that a revolution is a class struggle. It was one class--the oppressed--those other class--the oppressor. And it's got to be a universal fact. Those that don't admit to that are those that don't want to get involved in a revolution, because they know as long as they're dealing with a race thing, they'll never be involved in a revolution. They can talk about numbers; they can hang you up in many, many ways, but as soon as you start talking about class, then you got to start talking about some guns. And that's what the Party had to do.

When the Party started talking about a class struggle, we found that we had to start talking about some guns. If we never negated the fact that there was racism in America, but we said that when you, the by-product, what comes off of capitalism, that happens to be racism, that capitalism comes first and next is racism. That when they brought slaves over here, it was to make money. So first the idea came that we want to make money, then the

slaves came in order to make that money. That means that capitalism had to, through historical fact, racism had to come from capitalism. It had to be capitalism first and racism was a by-product of that.

Anybody that doesn't admit that is showing through their non-admittance and their non-participation in the struggle that all they are, are people who fail to make a commitment; and the only thing that they have going for them is the education that they receive in these institutions--education enough to teach them some alibis and teach them that you've gotta be black, and you've gotta change your name. And that's crazy.

The Minister of Education for the Party, Raymond "Masai" Hewitt, and Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, just got back from Africa visiting Eldridge Cleaver. And they said niggers over there never will be wearing the type of garb that some of these Africanized fools over here wear. They're wearing rags or either they're wearing nothing. And if you want to dress like some African people, then you oughta dress like the Angolans or the people in Mozambique. These are the people that are doing something. You need to dress like people that are in liberation struggles. But nah, you don't want to get that Africanized, because as soon as you have to dress like somebody from Angola or Mozambique, then after you put on whatever you put on, and it can be anything from rags to something from Saks fifth Avenue, you got to put on some bandoliers and some AR-15's and some 38's; you've got to put on some Smith and Wessons and some Colt 45's, because that's what they're wearin' in Mozambique. And any nigger that runs around here tellin' you that when your hair's long and you got a dashiki on, and you goy bubu's and all these sandals, and all this type of action, then you're a revolutionary, and anybody that doesn't look like you, he's not--that man has to be out of his mind.

Because we know that political power doesn't flow from the sleeve of a dashiki. We know that political power flows from the barrel of a gun. And that's true. It has to be true. We know that in order to be able to talk about power, that what you've got to be able to talk about is the ability to control and define phenomena and make it act in a desired manner. That means that if you can't control and define phenomena and make it act in a desired manner, then you don't even have any dealings with power, you don't know and you probably never will know what power is. And we know what power is, and we know who's doing harm to the people--the enemy.

And everybody wants to talk about...the pork chops will tell you in a minute "The pigs don't want you to get black. They don't want you to get no black studies programs. They don't want you to wear dashikis. They don't want you to learn about the motherland and what roots to eat out of the ground. They don't want that--because as soon as you get that, as soon as you go back to 11th century culture, you'll be alright."

Check the people who went back to 11th century culture. Check the people that are wearing dashikis and bubus and think that that's going to free them. Check all of these people, find out where they're located, find out the addresses of their office, write them a letter and ask them in the last year how many times has their office been attacked. And then write any Black Panther Party, anywhere in the United States of America, anywhere in Babylon, and ask

them how many times the pigs have attacked them. Then when you get your estimation from both of them, then you figure out what the pigs don't like. That's when you figure out what the pigs don't like.

We've been attacked three times since June. We know what pigs don't like. We've got people ran out of the country by the hundreds. We know what pigs don't like. Our Minister of Defense is in jail, our Chairman's in jail, our Minister of Information's in exile, our Treasurer, the first member of the Party, is dead. The Deputy Minister of Defense and the Deputy Minister of Information, Bunchy, Alprentice Bunchy Carter, and John Huggins from Southern California, murdered by some pork chops, talking about a BSU program. We know what the pigs don't like.

We said nobody would shoot a Panther but a pig, because Panthers don't pose a threat to anybody but pigs. And if people tell you that Panthers pose threats, then ask them what kind of sense would it make, unless it's to get up at 5 o'clock in the morning to feed somebody's son and then at 3 o'clock that afternoon shoot him--save a meal. We don't need to do that. What sense does it make for us to open up a free health clinic where the only prerequisite that you got to have to receive free medical aid is the prerequisite that you be sick. And we've got students who jiving themselves and running around playing, talking about they doin' something for the struggle, and I want to know what more could you do? And you all people come from Chicago.

People talking about the Party's co-opted by white folks. That's what that mini-fascist, Stokely Carmichael said. He's nothing but a jackanape. As far as I'm concerned, he's a jackanape, cause I've been knowing him for years, and that's all he could be, if he go around murder-mouthin' the Black Panther Party.

If we're co-opted by white people, then check the locations of our offices, our breakfast program, our free health clinic is opening up probably this Sunday at 16th and Springfield. Now does everybody know where 16th and Springfield is at? That's not in Winnetka, you understand. That's not in Dekalb. That's in Babylon. That's in the heart of Babylon, Brothers and Sisters.

And that free health clinic was put there because we know where the problem is at. We know that black people are most oppressed. And if we didn't know that, then why in the hell would we be running around talking about the black liberation struggle has to be the vanguard for all liberation struggles? If there's ever going to be any liberation in the mother country, ever gonna be any liberation in the colony, then we got to be liberated by the leadership of the Black Panther Party and the black liberation struggle. We don't negate that fact.

We're not hung up in anybody's not a Panther. We don't want to get you thinkin' that, because we can dig Fred, I mean Everett, we can dig him. But we can't dig Ron Karenga and LeRoi Jones. We can't dig that. We can't see any social practice on the part of them Brothers. We know that they both have names longer than my arm. And both of them supposed to be so intelligent and so smart. And that's the problem right now.

We're talkin' about destroying the system, and they have hang-ups doing that because they're constantly buying property within the system. And it's kind of hard to burn up on Tuesday what you bought last Monday. Because they're

a bunch of unrepentent capitalists. They'll never repent. And they know better. We try to make excuses for them--"Maybe they'll have to go through stages, Fred." No, that's not it. Because they're much older than we are-- I'm 21. We're all young. So stages, they done went through them. Ron Karenga has more degrees than a thermometer. That's right, he has more degrees than a thermometer and he continues to do what he's doin'. And how do they fool you? Because they pick the leaders that they want. And they put those people up there and portray them as being your leaders when, in fact, they're leaders of nobody.

...we call the oppressed apologists. Because even after something's happened, all they can do is apologize for it. Look in the papers. Now they're drawing pictures of the Chairman chained and gagged. Don't you know that if the news media, the establishment press, had moved before this, that they could have stopped this rising tide of fascism years ago. But they endorsed, they joined, they supported what fascists were doing at the time. And now it's being heaped down upon all of the people.

And a lot of people think now that their hands are getting dirty. We call them ideological servants of United States fascism. And that's what they are, because they serve fascism by doing nothing about it until the law goes over and then they apologize for it, they get apologetic. But we say it's the same press that we'll look at and believe and think is bonafide; the same press that talked us into believing that we was somebody when in fact we were nobody.

I don't think there's anything more important. I think that what Malcolm says is important. Now think back. Those students were laughing at Malcolm. Can you dig it? They were laughing at Malcolm. Why? Regis Debray, he says the revolutionaries are in the future. That militants and pork chops and all these people, radical students, are in the present, and that most of the rest of the people try to remain in the past. That's why when somebody comes that's in the future a lot of us can't understand him. And the same thing that you don't understand Huey P. Newton now, you didn't understand Malcolm when he was living. But we know that when Malcolm left, the well almost ran dry. You don't miss the water til the well runs dry, and it almost ran dry.

Huey P. Newton got to reading, and he's not like a lot of us. A lot of us read and read and read, but we don't get any practice. We have a lot of knowledge in our heads, but we've never practiced it; and made any mistakes and corrected those mistakes so that we will be able to do something properly. So we come up with like we say more degrees than a thermometer, but we're not able to walk across the street and chew gum at the same time, because we have all that knowledge but it's never been exercised, it's never been practiced. We never tested it with what's really happening. We call it testing it with objective reality. You might have any kind of thought in your mind, but you've got to test it with what's out there. you see what I mean?

They talked us into buying candy bars and throwing the candy away and eating the wrapper. They're the only people in the world, you understand, that's right, that can sell ice boxes to Eskimoes. They can sell natural wigs to niggers that's got natural hair already. And see, this is a shame. They can sell a one-legged man probably 24 tickets in a asskicking contest, and he knows he has no business being there. See, these are the things they can do

to us and then they have us believe that what they're tellin' us is right, it's bonafide, it's justified. We say that's wrong, that's incorrect, that Malcolm, when he spoke to students, and you probably heard that record, he speaks to some Jews, some slick people, and he told them.

You might say, "Well, the way I feel, people ought to be able to walk around naked because rape is love." That's idealism. See what I mean? You're dealing in metaphysics. You're dealing in subjectivity, because you're not testing it with objective reality. And what's really wrong is that you don't go test it. Because if you test it, you'll get objective. Because as soon as you walk out there, a whole lot of objective reality will vamp down upon your ass and rape you of whatever you have. So whenever this happens, this is when people get a whole lot of mistaken ideas. That's why a lot of you can't understand and can't agree with a lot of what we said. You've never tried it.

You don't know whether people relate to the breakfast program, because you've never fed anybody. You don't know anything about the free health clinic because you never asked anybody. You don't know anything about the good that a gun does you, because you never tried one. And we say that if you was born and if you said you didn't like pears and you never tasted pears, you'd have to be a liar. You don't know whether you like pears, but you can't claim that you don't like pears. The only way that anybody can tell you the taste of a pear is if he himself has tasted it. That's the only way. That's objective reality. That's what the Black Panther Party deals with. We're not metaphysicians, we're not idealists, we're dialectical materialists. And we deal with what reality is, whether we like it or not.

A lot of people can't relate to that because everything they do is gaged by the way they like things to be. We say that's incorrect. You look and see how things are and then you deal with that. We runnin' around talking about "We gonna love all black people. We have an undying love for all black people." And you know what? That if Malcolm came back, he'd walk past a million Klansmen to get to Stokely and whoop his motherfuckin' ass. Because Malcolm was standing right like this in a room, where white people weren't even allowed. You hear me? They wouldn't allow no white people in there. But Malcolm's dead. Now what happened? What's that fool's name, James Whitmore. Didn't he do his little skin?

Because they had names with 37X, 15X, blacker than black, and they were able to sneak in because of this ignorant potent #9 that these maniacs are trying to whoop on us--"We gonna love all black people because every negro is a potential black man."

The man that testified against Chairman Bobby in the Conspiracy Trial down in Chicago was a black man. The man that has Chairman Bobby on a murder trial in Connecticut is a black man. The man who murdered Malcolm X is a black man. The judge that denied Eldridge Cleaver bond after a white man had granted him bond--a nigger who investigated on his own and said, "Nigger, I don't think you ought to be on the street," was a black man, Thurgood Marshall, Thurgood NOGOOD Marshall, that the NAACP put in. That's one of the things about sittin' in and dyin' in and waitin' in and cryin' in got us. If Thurgood Marshall hadn't been there, then Eldridge Cleaver would probably still be here with the people.

He's a nigger, a bootlicker, a tonto, a jackanape. You understand? Goin' "I don't think you should be on the streets." And we runnin' around lettin' niggers tell us we got to love all black people.

You heard about the conspiracy trial on the West Side that they were able to win, with Doug Andrews and Fats Crawford, when they had the big burn on the West Side in the Martin Luther King riot? Ask 'em! Brothers, what's wrong with you, Brothers and Sisters? Ask 'em was that a white man. No! Because Doug and them they criticized us for our liberal stand. They call it liberal. So they don't let nobody in their hood but black people. But they didn't know. Anybody ever hear about Gloves on the South Side of Chicago? He's not white. [Gloves Davis was later one of the Chicago policemen that participated in Fred's assassination.] Did you think Buckney was white? Buckney, who's taking all of your Brothers and all of your little Sisters and all of your little cousins and nephews, and he's gonna continue to take 'em. And if you live and if you don't do anything, he's gonna take your sons and your daughters. And a lot of niggers is going to school now trying to make a name. We don't hear nobody running around talking about "I'm Benedict Arnold, III," because Benedict Arnold's children don't want to talk about they his children. You hear people talking about they might be Patrick Henry's children--people that stood up and said "Give me liberty or give me death." Or Paul Revere's cousin. Paul Revere said, "et your guns, the British are coming." The British were the police.

Huey said "Get your guns, the pigs are coming." Same thing. There'll be a lot of Newtons running around. A lot of your kids will be calling themselves Huey P. Newton, III. They won't be calling themselves Ooga-Booga or Karangatang Karenga, or Mamalama Karenga--none of that shit. They won't be calling themselves that. You see, ask the pigs in California. Ask them! You see that? Hand me one of them posters, Brother. The one right there. Now if you think I'm lying, look at this. Take a look at this. Now all you Sisters here, tell me what looks better--a nigger runnin' around in a robe and a staff pole, lookin' like Moses, or these bad--these are the baddest lookin'.... You might think, you might say you're chauvinistic, organizational chauvinistic you might call it. You might call me wrapped up in the Party's own ego. But I'm wrapped up in the truth. And I think the sister can verify that these are the baddest. These are the movie stars for Babylon, godamnit. Huh? Fuck John Wayne and all this other shit.

"...Black Revolution is Socialist Revolution, aimed at the monopoly capitalist class, its lackeys and agents, and not indiscriminately at white people. We must seek if at all possible to isolate the monopoly class from its white worker base of support, and bring about a cleavage in amerikkkan society such as occurred during the Vietnam war. This must be a conscious part of our strategy...."

Alright. But you see, if you look at that, that's what we look good in. We don't care if niggers wear dashikis. You understand? That's not gonna mean anything in the final analysis. But we're saying that you need some tools.

You ever had occasion to have a doctor come to your house, or a plumber come to your house? Suppose a plumber came to your house, he opened up his bag and he had stethoscopes and thermometers and hypodermic needles and syringes. You'd say "You came to fix the plumbing? Brother, you got the wrong tools. Something suspicious is going on because you don't even have the proper tools." Ain't that right?

Suppose somebody came to deliver your baby and he had plumbers tools? I know you Sisters would scream bloody murder. No, but you'd say, "This is not right, Brother. We can't have this. You got to, you understand, you gotta come a little easier, you got to show me something better. You got to have some tools that are more appropriate for the occasion, you understand, because I don't have any runny faucets or anything."

So when people come into our community with tanks, when they come into Babylon or Warsaw, or whatever you want to call it, like they did into Henry Horner Projects--and that's a manifestation of, a very clear manifestation of what's happening in Babylon. When they do that, when they come in there with tanks and those tanks are tools, those tanks are tools of war, they're declaring war on the community. And if you, when they come into the community with tanks, you come out with dashikis and nothin' but dashikis, bubus and nothin' but bubus, sandals and nothin' but sandals, then you're in the wrong place at the wrong time with the wrong people. You'd better go back in the house, if you have to strip buck naked, if you got to get asshole naked, put you on even if it ain't nothin' but a holster and a gun and some ammunition. Take your bear ass, you understand, and they won't consider you being naked. Nobody will try, you understand, to whistle at you, or anything. Cause this will be gone from the minute ...any kind of sexual attraction you had will be gone. Cause they will be looking at Mr. and Mrs. Colt .45, Mr. and Mrs. .357 Magnum. And the shapes on them are the best shapes we have in Babylon to deal with. And you Brothers holdin' a .357 Magnum in your hand, there ain't nothin' that feels like a .357 Magnum, except one of these beautiful black Sisters. But we need them .357 Magnums also.

When we go out there, we'll be able to protect ourselves. Huey P. Newton issued a mandate a long time ago. It was Executive Mandate #3. It said we need to draw the line of demarcation. And when pigs move on our cribs, we have to protect our crib with gun force. Pigs don't move on Panther cribs. When they move on Panther cribs, they make sure the Panther's out of town. We had a situation where they moved on a Panther crib and they had three helicopters above his crib. I'm serious, I'm serious. See, they come prepared. Because they know when they comin' to a Panther's crib that we might talk a lot of rhetoric, but we deal with the same basic jargon that the people in Babylon deal with. It takes two to tango, motherfucker. As soon as you kick that door down, I have to kick it back on you. We don't lock our doors. We just get us some good guns and leave them motherfuckers open and when people come in there we put something on them that will make them go to the hardware, buy a lock, come back, pull the door closed, lock it and stay their ass on the outside!

We're gonna move as quickly as we possibly can for the people with the questions and answers and the people with the guilt syndrome and the people that have been embarrassed and shamed and disgraced. And we've talked about their leaders like LeRoi Jones and Mamalama Karangatang Karenga, a big bald-headed bazoomie as far as we concerned. That's what he is. And we think that if he's gonna continue to wear dashikis, that he oughta stop wearin' pants. Cause he'd look a lot better in miniskirts. That's all a motherfuckin' man needs in Babylon that ain't got no gun, and that's a miniskirt. And maybe he can trick his way out of somethin'. Cause he not gonna shoot his way outta nothin'. He's not gonna shoot his way outta nothin'. He won't fight temptation, but he never killed anybody but the Black Panther Party member. Name somebody. Name me a time you read about Karangatang's office being attacked. The only time he ever had occasion to use a gun was on Alprentice Bunchy Carter, a revolutionary. This Brother had more revolutionary poetry for a motherfucker than anybody. Revolutionary culture. John Huggins. The only time they lifted a gun was against these people.

And Huey says in prison when they lifted their hands against Bunchy and when they lifted their hands against John, they lifted their hands against the best that Babylon possesses. And you should say that. You should feel anytime when revolutionary Brothers die. You never heard about the Party going around murdering people. You dig what I'm saying? Think about it. I'm not even gonna tell you. You think about it for yourself.

We started the Black Panther Party in 1966. I'm gonna tell you the whole story in a minute. We started dealing with pigs. You think we scared of a few karangatangs, a few chumps, a few male chauvinists? They tell their women "Walk behind me." The only reason a woman should walk behind a faggot like that is so she can put her foot knee deep in his ass.

We don't need no culture except a revolutionary culture. What we mean by that is a culture that will free you. You heard our Field Lieutenant talking about a fire in the room, didn't you? What you worry about when you got a fire in this room? You worry about water or escape. You don't worry about nothin' else. If you say "What's your culture during this fire?" "Water, that's my culture, Brother, that's my culture." Because culture's a thing that keeps you. "What's your politics?" Escape and water. "What's your education?" Escape and water. When people ask us about our culture, we say our culture's guns, baby. Our culture's revolutionary art, like that. And when you see those two Brothers who picked up them guns and went out into Babylon in '66 when a lot of us were scared to do anything except lock ourselves up in the closet and listen to Coltrane--ain't that something for whoopin' a motherfucker's ass. And this turned us on and this made us black enough that we were bad. Then this made us black enough to go out and launch a blanket indictment at the murder-mouthin' rest of the black people. Nigger, you ain't got no natural. Nigger, how come your name ain't changed? Ask the pigs in California. Ask 'em. "Who do you fear most? Ron Mamalama Karenga, or Huey P. Newton, who is named after a demagogic, lyin' politician, Huey P. Long?" And pigs don't care about that. Because you don't have to call, if your shotgun's a Browning, you don't have to give it no African name, because believe me, it shoots the same. You understand? It shoots the same....

Changing your name is not gonna change our set of arrangements. the only thing that's gonna change our set of arrangements is what's gotten us into

this set of arrangements. And that's an oppressor. And it's on three stages, we call it three-in-one: avaricious, greedy businessmen; demagogic, lyin' politicians; and racist, pig, fascist, reactionary cops. Until you deal with those three things, then your set of arrangements will remain the same. The only difference will be that you'll still be under fascism, but instead of Fred being under fascism, I'll be Oogabooga under fascism. But I'll feel the same. Instead of me goin' to the gas chamber, I'll go to an African section of the gas chamber. We so Africanized over here that if Africans came over here, you'd have to give them a catalogue to find out what the fuck they were buyin'. That's right, you'd have to give them a catalogue to find out what the fuck they were buyin'. You got posters and pictures and names, we're namin' things and namin' ourselves names they never even heard of. And we call ourselves Africanized. And ain't that somethin'? You understand?

If you're racist, let me tell you somethin'. Or if you're a reactionary nationalist. White folks run it. Go to South Africa and ask 'em. Go ahead. If you want an example of cultural nationalism, the best one I can give you is Papa Doc, Duvalier. In Haiti, all the black people, "We need some blackness." Papa Doc--naw, Duvalier said "Right on, we need some blackness. Let's get all the white folks out of here." Got all the white folks out, and now he's oppressing all the black folks. When the black folks complain about it, he says, "Well, godamn; what you all complainin' about now? I'm black. I can't do nothin' wrong, brother. We already qualified that." That's why these apologists like Wesley South come on the air, and to rap that sophistry that the Sister was talkin' about. Talkin' about, they're ballyhooing, really. Just rappin' about nothin' Because they're jackanapes in our community allowed to remain there only because of their skin complexion. And we ought to drive them out. think about it.

You've got Bobby Seale being chained and gagged at the Federal Building. You've got James and Michael Soto who was murdered in two days. By the way, for all you white folks that claim that you're radicals, that claim you're gonna support the Party. We move in and we're saying that there's no better, there's no higher Marxist than Huey P. Newton. Not Chairman Mao Tse-Tung or anybody else. We're saying that unless people show us through their social practice that they relate to the struggle in Babylon, that means that they're not internationalists, that means that they're not revolutionaries, truly Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries. We look at Kim Il Sung. We look at Comrade the Marshall, Marshall Kim Il Sung of Korea as towering far and high above in his social practice as Mao Tse-Tung. If you can relate to that, cool. If you can't relate to that, walk out with your ass picked clean like the chickens do, you dig? If you can't relate to that. And we're tellin' you that.

And you motherfuckers who think you're so radical that you're trying to radicalize everything in Washington. and I don't know what the fuck you could radicalize, because you ain't gonna do nothing but wak between the bodies of two dead men, Lincoln and Washington. And I know you're not gonna stand up and gain no redress. And there's just as much chance for Nixon giving you some redress. If you can get 200,000 people to march on Washington for something that's in Vietnam, why in the fuck can't you get 200,000 people to come down to Jackson and Dearborn, the Federal Building, and march for the Chairman of Babylon, the man who's did more for Babylon, and more for Vietnam than you marchin' maniacs will ever do. Because you're not doin' nothin' for nobody but Florsheims and Stetsons or Stacy Adams and anybody else, because you're gonna wear your soles out--your metaphysical souls and the soles on your shoes. and we say if you can't relate to that, then fuck you.

Because our line's been consistent. We know we Marxist-Leninists. People who might not want to dig on it, they say Marxist-Leninists they don't curse. This is something we got from slavemasters. We know niggers invented the word motherfucker. We wasn't fuckin' nobody's mother. It was the master fuckin' people's mothers. We invented the word, you dig? We relate to that. We Marxist-Leninist niggers, and we some Marxist-Leninist cussin' niggers. and we gonna continue to cuss, godamnit. Cause that's what we relate to. that's what's happening in Babylon. That's objective reality. Don't nobody be walkin' around in Babylon spouting out at the mouth about a whole lot of academic bullshit, intellectually masturbating, catching diarrhea of the mouth. We say to those motherfuckers if you want to catch a mouth disease, you come and talk that shit in a community where the Panthers are at, and you'll get a mouth disease alright. You're gonna get hoof-in-mouth; Panther hoof-in-mouth. So if you radicals can't relate to that, then fuck you, because we know what Chairman Bobby did for the struggle.

And we know that the people in vietnam, they know that peace, just like Huey P. Newton tells about our motto, that we are the advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war, but we understand that war can only be abolished through war. That in order to put down the gun, make a man get rid of the gun, it's necessary to pick up a gun. and you motherfuckers that's for peace in vietnam, the Black Panther Party is for victory in Vietnam. We say that they're aggressors, they're a bunch of lackey running dogs, that they're imperialists. They're a bunch of Wall Street warmongers. And they need to be driven out of there.

And the only way that the liberation of the oppressed people of Vietnam or the oppressed people of Babylon's freedom can be founded, it has to be founded on the land that is fertilized by the bones and blood of these aggressive pig dogs that come into our communities and occupy our communities like troops occupy a foreign territory and go into Vietnam and fight and struggle relentlessly against the people in vietnam to have a right to self-determination. We don't care whether anybody likes it or not. That's our line. It's a Marxist-Leninist line. It's consistent. It's going to remain that way, and it's been that way.

If you can't get 200,000 people to come see about Bobby, then we say you're counter-revolutionary. That what you're doing is you're taking some kind of route from Dekalb where you're going to get to Vietnam without even passing the Henry Horner Projects on the West Side of Chicago. That's impossible. you think Vietnam is bad? check the laws. In Vietnam if you lose one son they allow you to keep the other one. they say, "Here, mother dear, hold him--hold him tight." He can stay at home, you understand. If you have two in there and one dies, they'll ship him back. They'll ship him back and get him out of the war where there'll be no chance of him dying, because "Miss, this war is not going to take both of your sons." And then you're marchin' on this cruel war in Washington, all you radicals, and what about Mrs. Soto, who lost two sons in one week? That proves to us through historical fact that Babylon is worse than Vietnam; we need to have some moritoriums on Babylon. We need to have some moritoriums on the black community in Babylon and all oppressed communities in Babylon.

And Charles Jackson, from Altgeld Gardens. Last week a 14-year-old boy throwing rocks. The pigs told him to halt, and the motherfucker shot and murdered him. Murdered him in cold blood. And then you motherfuckers got

the nerve to go tramping off to Washington, marching between two dead motherfuckers. The Panther Party's gonna criticize you motherfuckers. We gonna criticize you out open because we believe in mass revolutionary criticism. We're gonna tell you that you're wrong, because we done had a lot of criticism leveled at us for fucking around with you. You will either be part of the problem or you're gonna be part of the solution. and if we find out you motherfuckers is part of the problem, we're gonna start turnin' the guns on you crazy motherfuckers.

We're gonna have some questions and answers. We're gonna do one thing, too. And this is another thing that's out of sight to show the people where we come from. We come from Babylon. The Black Panther Party's ran solely by black people. If you get a chance--I don't think it's gonna be this Sunday, but we taped this Sunday and shown next Sunday, I'm almost sure. It's gonna be taped this Sunday and shown next Sunday. There'll be a big round table discussion that's gonna be on "For Blacks Only," and you can check the thing and see what it is. And either myself or Chaka will be there. We'll be representing the Black Panther Party. And if you get a chance, why don't you look at it.

If you'd wanna do something for me, we'd like to do something for Chairman Bobby, if you just clap your hands for me. This is what we call--you don't have to clap too loud--this is what we call the people beat. It's a beat that was started in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. It's a beat that never stops because it's the beat they got because they knew it couldn't be stopped. It's the beat that manifested in you, the people.

Chairman Bobby Seale says that as long as there's black people, there'll always be a Black Panther Party. But they can never stop the Party unless they stop the beat. As long as you manifest the beat, we can never be stopped. You think the beat is dangerous? We know it's dangerous. Because when the beat started out on the West Coast, the chief pig out there, Mafioso Alioto, said to the rest of his people that helped him with his fascism out there, he said, "Listen to those people beat. Hey, they're beating much too fast. Why don't they go back home where they belong."

When that beat started last November a year ago in Chicago, Illinois, at 2350 W. Madison, when me and Chaka and Bobby Rush and Che and some more Brothers and Jewel got together and said we're gonna start a Black Panther Party right here. Because this is a part of Babylon; the Party exists right here, too. That we might be in school now, might think we're on the mountain top, but we got to come down to the valley, because people in the valley, commitment's in the valley, oppression's in the valley, aggression, repression, fascism, all exists in the valley. No matter how nice it might be on the mountain top, we've got a commitment, so we're goin' back. We got to go back to the valley.

And when we did that, even Daley and Hanrahan and Judge--we call him Adolph Hitler Hoffman--the chief fascist who knows the art of tapista, the art that Mussolini was supposed to have mastered. We say that Hoffman is better at the art of tapista than Mussolini ever was, because he knows what the art of tapista is: it's an art of good timing. And when we started that beat, Judge Hoffman and Mayor Daley and hammerhead Hanrahan said, "Hey, listen to the people. It's Chicago beat. Politically they are even beating much too fast. Why don't they go back home?" To live with all black people

where they belong, to live in dashikis and bubus and to be porkchop nationalists and cultural nationalists. Why don't they go back home to thinkin' what you're wearin' is going to change you? Why don't they go back to "Political power flows from the sleeve of a dashiki." And we said, "No!" As long as that beat continues, we continue, because it gives us in the Party a type of intoxication, that it lets us understand...we're so revolutionary proletarian intoxicated that we cannot be astronomically intimidated.

Don't worry about the Black Panther Party. As long as you keep the beat, we'll keep on going. If you think that we can be wiped out because they murdered Bobby Hutton and Alprentice Bunchy Carter and John Huggins, you're wrong. If you think that because Huey was jailed the Party's gonna stop, you see you're wrong. If you think because Chairman Bobby was jailed the Party's gonna stop, you see you're wrong. If you think because they can jail me you thought the Party was gonna stop, you thought wrong. Because they can "Rage," Eldridge Cleaver out of the country...you're wrong. Because we said it before we left and we said it today. That you can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution. You can lock up a freedom fighter like Huey P. Newton, but you can't lock up freedom fighting. You might hire some pork chops like Mamalama to murder Alprentice Bunchy Carter, a liberator, but you can't murder liberation, because if you do, you come up with answers that don't answers, explanations that don't explain, conclusions that don't conclude.

We say that if you dare to struggle, then you dare to win. If you dare not to struggle, you don't deserve to win. We wouldn't go into the ring with Muhammad Ali and not fight and wonder why we lost, would we? If you don't fight, then you don't deserve to win. If you don't move on these fascists, then you're crazy. We say it's no longer a question of violence or non-violence. We say it's a question of resistance to fascism or nonexistence within fascism. We say let's stop the war in vietnam. Let's stop it by acquiring victory for the spirit of Ho Chi Minh. We say let's stop the war in Babylon. Let's initiate the decentralization of the police....

The only real thing is the people, because pigs bite the hand that feeds them and they need to be slapped. And like Chaka said, when you catch them in your house, hit 'em with anything. You shouldn't argue about whether to hit 'em with a chair or a table, because they're out of order from the start. We say that the oppressor--fuck Judge Taney--the oppressor has no rights which we, the oppressed, are bound to follow.

If you get a chance, come see about Bobby. You oughta come see about Bobby because Bobby came and saw about you. You oughta come see about Bobby because in 1966, when we didn't even think we were important enough to protect ourselves, Bobby and Huey got their guns and went into the community. They left college. They were pre-engineer students, that was Bobby, and Huey was a pre-law student. And what they read they put into practice. You oughta come see about Bobby because Bobby came and saw about you. I'm going to see about Bobby and if you have anything to say you'll come see about bobby. Come down to Jackson and Dearborn and see about our Chairman, because he's the Chairman of Babylon. He's the father and the founder of the breakfast programs and the free health clinics, and there's nothing wrong, nothing in the world wrong with that.

All power to the people. Northern Illinois power to the people that go here to Northern Illinois University.

We say that we need some guns. There's nothing wrong with guns in our community, there's just been a misdistribution of guns in our community. For some reason or another, the pigs have all the guns, so all we have to do is equally distribute them. So if you see one that has a gun and you don't have one, then when you leave you should have one. They way we'll be able to deal with things right. I remember looking at T.V. and I found that not only did the pigs not brutalize the people in western days, they had to hire bounty hunters to go arrest them because they had guns. Now they brutalize without even arresting them. They shoot somebody with no intention of arresting them. We need some guns. We need some guns. We need some guns. We need some force.

Thank you. I'm going to call Chaka and Sister Joan back up here to deal with any questions that you want answered, because we have plenty of time to spend; we don't have any time to waste. As the Sister said, "Time is short, let's seize the time."

Thank you.

(Speech delivered at Northern Illinois University, November, 1969.)



WE HAVE TO PROTECT OUR LEADERS!

Sure, it's a glorious day. Glad to be around on Malcolm's birthday. And we ought to be asking ourselves why a lot of other people are not around. And those other people who aren't around, we ought to be asking ourselves "Why aren't they around?" There's a lot of people in this city who have been saying a whole lot of things that haven't come true. A whole lot of people have been making a whole lot of statements. And I'm gonna talk about these niggers. They need to be talked about. Let me tell you something. We're here honoring Malcolm. And what was so good about Malcolm is that through criticism, through constructive, revolutionary criticism, Malcolm moved most of these lazy-assed niggers that never would have moved if Malcolm hadn't criticized them.

Malcolm said that "I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions--political, economical, social, physical, anything that's necessary. I believe in it as long as it is intelligently directed and designed to get results." We've got to understand that what he was talking about is that anything, no matter how weird it may look, no matter how unusual it may seem... because when Malcolm came through he seemed weird and he also seemed unusual. But even though he seemed weird to you, even though he seemed unusual to you,

years later he proved to be your revolutionary leader. And I'm saying now that we understand very well, if you read the latest issue of the Black Panther Party paper, we did a beautiful job about Malcolm X here, because our Minister of Defense who today, in 1969, on May 19, we're not afraid to say it to nobody, that he's the baddest motherfucker that ever stepped out of the pages of a history book!

How do we know that? Because it was Huey P. Newton that came forth and said "We don't care what happens. We're drawing the line right here. The pigs will come no further. They're not going to make us retreat. We're going to have somewhere, no matter how far we run, no matter how long we run, that when we reach that point, we're going to be able to stop and say, in the voice that Huey would say it in, "Motherfuckers! What you for, you dig? I got my gun, motherfucker, and you got yours. And if you try to shoot me with your gun, motherfucker, or if you try to take my gun, well then, I intend to blow your motherfuckin' brains out!"

That's what it's about. That's what it's got to be about. Huey P. Newton was a man that said that whenever a slave kills a slavemaster, it's a cleansing process.

Because it was Huey P. Newton who said that the people can only understand basically by observation and participation. What did he do? Well, we done said it so many times, but let me tell you--it's so beautiful.

There was a situation down on the corner where there were four intersections and people were being run over. And Huey said we're gonna stop this situation. The people went down to the government and they redressed their grievances peacefully, begged the man to put stop signs up as a humane action, just to stop our children from being murdered in the streets, to stop these maniacs who are driving fast and they don't have any legal reason to stop. And you know what the pig said?

They said you can go back home because I'm running this thing and you people don't have any say-so. But Huey P. Newton came through, and he told the people to "give me a chance, because I believe something else. I believe with all my soul and with all my heart and with all my mind that the people should, could and will have the power. Let me go down and let me see if I can put the stop signs up."

They said, "Well, Huey, we already tried." But they didn't understand that Huey was like brother Malcolm. That Huey would do things even if it didn't correspond to what you thought ought to be done. He would say things not because you wanted to hear them or not.

Huey got Bobby Seale and Bobby Seale got a 9mm pistol. Huey got his shotgun, he got four stop signs, and got him a hammer, went down to the corner, handed his shotgun to Chairman Bobby Seale and said, "If anybody come on this corner and fuck with us, we're gonna blow their brains out."

Huey P. Newton said people learn basically by observation and participation. The people observed. Next time they had another four-way intersection. Same type of problem. People were running past where there should be a stop sign but there wasn't any; children were being murdered and maimed in the streets. Again Huey went, got Chairman Bobby, Chairman Bobby got his 9mm, Huey got his shotgun, got four stop signs and got a hammer. He went down to the corner, told Bobby "Anybody fuck with us, blow their brains out." Nailed up the four stop signs. No more accidents, no more problems.

Next time--the people who gassed last time, gassed this time, too. They observed and participated. What happened? They had another intersection, a four-way intersection. Children being murdered. Children being maimed. Huey was gonna move again, but he understood what was gonna happen, but he didn't know it was gonna happen then. But then he looked up, and even the vanguard was surprised when he saw all the people gettin' their hammers, gettin' their stop signs! And the people were down there. No more problem and no more accidents. How did they learn? They learned by observation and they learned by participation, and that's the way the Black Panther Party believes in doing things.

You've got to understand very clearly that we have got to grasp onto our leaders and protect our leaders before they're taken away. You've got to learn very well that you've got to stop identifying people with being your brothers because they've got the same color skin that you have. I'm tellin' you that a nigger will walk up to you in the alley, stick you up, you say you want your money back, you got a gun, but you ain't supposed to get your money back, ain't supposed to be mad, cause "I'm your brother." What you messin' with your brother for? Brothers advance to be brothers. And you've got to stop getting hung up in a whole race question, because this is a class struggle.

It's a class struggle whether we want to face it or not. The Black Panther Party hears a lot of people saying "Let's go ahead and fight fire with fire." But we say, "No, no, no!" We don't care how many people say that, because nobody knows really what's happening. Huey was by himself, but being in the minority doesn't always make you wrong. We may be in the minority, but this minority is gonna keep on shouting loud and clear, "We're not gonna fight fire with fire, we're gonna fight fire with water. We're not gonna fight racism with racism, we're gonna fight racism with solidarity. We're not gonna fight capitalism with black capitalism like some of these punks in the city of Chicago want to do, we're gonna fight capitalism with socialism.

Dig, that's what we gotta do. You've got to understand very well that you have a situation in Chicago where all kinds of holidays will come around. You have a situation where every Saturday people get up and they worry about what kind of clothes to wear, and if they can't get a new pretty dress, then they can't go. And they come out of the meeting and you say "What was the text of the sermon today," or "What did the man rap about," or "What was the current problem?" And they'll say "I don't know--but he had on a beautiful turtleneck." And I'm tellin' you that when things get in this state of affairs, you in bad shape.

These niggers--wait a minute--these niggers, out of 5,000 people that'll be there, maybe 3,000 of them were businessmen. Who are they programming for? You got black Easter, you got black Christmas, you got black Ground Hogs Day, you got black April Fools Day--ain't geared for nobody but black businessmen. And I say that anybody that comes into our community and sets up any type of situation that does not meet the needs of the masses, then I, Chairman Fred of the Black Panther Party, say that I'll take that nigger by his turtleneck and beat him to death with a Black Panther Newspaper! And we could kill him with the paper, because that paper has an ideology, and if you don't read it, you oughta read it.

(Speech delivered at the Capitol Theater, May 19, 1969.)

COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE AGAINST THE
ILLINOIS CHAPTER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

By Dan Stern
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"COINTELPRO"--What It Is

"COINTELPRO" was a special FBI counter-intelligence program, launched initially against the Communist Party, USA, in 1956, with the avowed purpose of neutralizing all individuals/groups that posed a threat to U.S. Ruling Class policies....

Technically, COINTELPRO was similar to all other FBI counter-intelligence programs in its use of both legal and illegal methods to neutralize dissident groups, but differed in one crucial aspect: COINTELPRO programs demanded that the FBI Special Agents report back to FBI Headquarters every three months with: Suggested operations against target groups/individuals; operations carried out; the results of the operations with regard to neutralization. In the regular counter-intelligence programs, the FBI Special Agents were under no particular time pressure to initiate operations and get results; only if the FBI Special Agents in the field thought the time and place were ripe for an operation, and FBI Headquarters agreed, would the operation proceed. The COINTELPRO programs put very heavy pressure on FBI Special Agents in the field to initiate and carry out operations whether or not the agents felt the time/place considerations were optimal. The net result of the COINTELPRO programs time-push was a sloppiness and crudeness, a public openness, that in retrospect makes it much easier to see the actual techniques used.

COINTELPRO had both an inside and an outside aspect. By far the most damaging to any group is the inside aspect. At the Hampton trial, a top FBI official from the Chicago field Office admitted that some 30 informers for the FBI had provided information on the Illinois BPP. Most of these were short-term penetration agents who stayed in the BPP for only short periods of time and then left. Then, in 1975, six years after the assassination of Fred Hampton, government sources revealed that William O'Neal had been an FBI informer and agent provocateur virtually since the founding of the Illinois BPP in October, 1968.

Internal Element

O'Neal was able to provide detailed information about every aspect of the Illinois Black Panther Party to the FBI. But O'Neal did far more than that. O'Neal was a street hustler jailed for some of his criminal activities and became an FBI informer on the eve of leaving prison in October, 1968. Virtually his first act after leaving prison was to join the BPP. O'Neal was given a basic stipend of \$300 per month during the period that he infiltrated the BPP. This stipend was small potatoes for O'Neal, who carried on extensive

criminal activities while a member of the BPP. O'Neal was an armed robber and stick-up man, as well as a minor drug dealer whose criminal activities were protected by the FBI. Chicago FBI Special Agent Roy Mitchell, the head of the Racial Matters Desk in the Chicago Field Office and O'Neal's Control, also bailed out O'Neal from arrests for criminal matters and had them expunged from the record. This suggests several COINTELPRO methods: the "criminal exchange" where criminal activities are protected by law enforcement in exchange for the criminal providing useful information and/or performing actions for law enforcement agencies; second, the BPP was discredited in the black community for having a criminal as one of its leaders; third, O'Neal encouraged other BPP members to engage in criminal actions, further discrediting the BPP; finally, there is personal testimony to the effect that O'Neal attempted to hook various Party members and sympathizers on drugs, and succeeded in getting Jerry Dunigan's wife addicted to heroin to the point that she died from an overdose on December 25, 1970. Ripping apart families through drugs and sexual alienation are standard COINTELPRO methods. When FBI informers are able to break apart couples who are part of the target group, the group suffers major internal disorganization because the affected individuals suffer tremendous ego blows that often cripple their organizational work and lead to major outbursts of social pathology. Only hours after his wife died of a drug overdose, Jerry Dunigan went to Chicago's Gold Coast area and randomly picked two people to be victims of a horrendous crime in revenge for his wife's death.

O'Neal was a major instigator of violent behavior and intimidation within the BPP. O'Neal built a complete electric chair all by himself, presumably to be used to crack informers within the BPP ranks. There is no evidence that the electric chair was ever used, since Hampton emphatically did not like it. But even the fact that it was there and known to BPP members, was intimidating to them. O'Neal was also in the forefront of sexually abusing BPP female members and sympathizers, and thereby inhibited females from joining.

A final example of O'Neal's disruptive behavior was the paramount role he played in the procurement of guns. When two BPP members, Robert Bruce and Nathaniel Junior, were procuring guns in Canada, O'Neal was their contact man at Chicago BPP headquarters and monitored every detail of their activity. Using O'Neal's information, the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF), nailed Junior and Bruce on gun charges, and under the threat of long prison terms turned the two BPP members into ATF informers.

BPP/Fred Hampton Threat To Ruling Class

While O'Neal was extremely damaging internally to the Illinois BPP, the group remained politically effective, and at the center of the black struggle in Chicago. This was due to the extraordinary leadership of Fred Hampton, the Chairman of the Illinois BPP. Hampton's charismatic personality and his developing powerful revolutionary politics, not only kept the Illinois BPP alive and powerful in the black struggle, but also gained Hampton the leadership of the radical white left in Chicago. The leadership nationally of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) clearly followed Hampton's leadership all during 1969 until the Weatherman faction took over, and thereafter Fred was the leader of RYM II (the strongest SDS faction opposed to Weatherman politics), until his death on December 4, 1969.

A further challenge to the U.S. Ruling Class was the BPP's emerging, tentative "Rainbow Coalition," organized during 1969 by Bobby Lee, one of the Field Secretaries of the Illinois BPP. The Rainbow Coalition drew together the Illinois BPP; the Young Lords Organization, which was all Puerto Rican; the Young Patriots Organization, which was predominantly Appalachian white; and at various times, the SDS group. Thus, the Illinois BPP emerged in the struggle as the leader of an inter-racial grouping of radicals which might pose a real threat to the U.S. Ruling Class and the local Chicago Ruling Class.

This threat was swiftly removed by the fairly simple device of assassinating Fred Hampton. Assassination has always been a tool of the political police and was an effective tool of COINTELPRO. COINTELPRO methods were regularly used to neutralize charismatic and effective movement leadership, but assassination was infrequently needed to accomplish the neutralization. In Fred Hampton's case, many COINTELPRO methods were tried, but they did not accomplish the desired results. What follows here are some of the methods used to neutralize the Illinois BPP from the outside, that is, applying pressures from outside the group to break the internal resistance of the group. Note that external pressures often increase internal resistance, so law enforcement has to be careful that the effects of pressure from the outside don't boomerang.

"Neutralization"

The COINTELPRO against the BPP was not the only repression suffered, since many agencies had targeted the BPP. The FBI and its COINTELPRO was by far the most significant repression, partly because the FBI used other agencies of government to carry out specific aspects of COINTELPRO. Some agencies were not under the control of the FBI and they carried out certain ruling class policies that the FBI was unwilling or unable to carry out. The three main aspects of external repression of the BPP were: first, a program of harassment and repression through the law enforcement system; second, a media campaign nationally as well as locally in Chicago; and third, a campaign to deny the BPP their recruiting base by helping other groups, opposed to the BPP, recruit the thousands of alienated, politically radicalized young blacks that might have gone into the BPP.

The legal repression of the BPP nationally and locally was coordinated and led by the highest officials at FBI headquarters plus the Special Agents in Charge of the numerous FBI Field Offices. In Chicago, the FBI was aided by an eight-man unit from the Chicago Police Department's Gang Intelligence Unit. This latter Unit worked full-time on nothing but harassing the BPP in Chicago. In addition, all CPD officers were made aware of the fact that the BPP members were a targeted group with whom they could pick fights, trump up charges, threaten and intimidate, arrest and hold, and no punishment to the police officer would be forthcoming from higher levels. Police officers were encouraged to interfere with every BPP activity no matter how peaceful, sometimes resulting in shootouts. BPP members selling newspapers were harassed and arrested; Breakfast program coordinators were detained with their breakfast supplies until the school children went to school without their hot breakfast. Minor offenses such as the Ice Cream caper were blown up into major offenses.

The Ice Cream Caper took place in Maywood, Illinois in 1967. Fred Hampton was angry because a local ice cream vendor was overcharging small black kids for ice cream. When he spoke to the vendor, they immediately got into a verbal confrontation after which Hampton pushed the vendor aside and gave out \$71 worth of ice cream to the kids for free. Hampton was arrested for this in January, 1969, put on trial as though it was a major offense, found guilty, and sentenced to three and one-half to five years in prison. Since this was an act that was only technically a crime, and one where he had no personal benefit, and it was a first offense which was extremely minor, the sentence of 3½-5 years in state prison was extraordinary. The judge sent Hampton to prison on May 26, 1969, where he remained for three months, at which time he was released on appeal bond. Around August, 1969--just prior to Hampton's assassination (Dec. 4, 1969), he had been ordered back to prison because his legal appeal in the Ice Cream Caper was turned down. Hampton was reportedly making preparations to go underground or in exile to avoid the prison sentence. Perhaps his preparations for flight determined the timing of the FBI's successful assassination attempt.

A much more serious legal repression occurred in the spring of 1969, when several BPP members tortured and assaulted a woman named Margaret Currie. Currie kept part of the BPP arsenal of guns in her home, but would not account for a missing gun thought to be stolen by her addict boy friend. A handful of BPP members attempted to persuade Currie to confess that her boy friend took the gun and traded it for dope. When Currie refused to confess, she was struck, burned by cigarette butts, slapped around. When she escaped her captors, she told the Chicago Police and eventually 16 BPP members were indicted on far-ranging conspiracy charges. A number of BPP members went underground and hid out until the indictments were dismissed.

The legal repression in this case is the indictment of almost the entire BPP membership for the actions of a far smaller number who actually did the actions. The numerous BPP members who were indicted and went underground at the time had to give up all political work and lay low for several months until the indictments were dropped. With most of their full-time cadres underground, important organizing ground to a halt. Added to the long list of petty crimes the BPP were charged with and had to face court charges on, combined with the conspiracy indictment, the legal repression was sapping the energy and resources of the BPP.

Nationally, the major media owned by the U.S. Ruling Class portrayed the BPP as armed black nationalists who were ready to kill white people indiscriminately to gain power. They were portrayed as attacking the police when in fact the opposite was true. Very little of the BPP programs appeared in the white press or in the traditional black press. Over and over again the white press said the members of the BPP were dangerous criminals, thugs, gang-bangers and cop killers. The white media caused the BPP to be highly feared by the larger white community. In the black community, the BPP had the counter-thrust of the BPP's weekly newspaper BLACK PANTHER NEWS. Here in the Chicago area BPN sold about 20,000 copies. Although the BPN should have created public opinion massively in favor of the Illinois BPP, it was only partially successful at overcoming the dangerous stereotypes created by the white media. The key group directing the media campaign against the BPP was the FBI, which was very successful in their efforts to alienate the BPP from the white community and important, large parts of the black community as well....

Lumpen Used Against The People

In the Chicago area, the U.S. Ruling Class recruited some allies in their fight against the BPP that were objectionable to the Chicago Police Department and the FBI. These allies were some of the biggest gangs in Chicago. The federal agency called the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) arranged a truce between the Blackstone Rangers and the East Side Disciples in 1966 on the promise that if the gangs resisted fighting with each other for turf, OEO would make an extensive job training grant available, with both gangs getting a large percentage of the money. What motivated OEO on a national basis was the search for ghetto groupings strong enough to stop the epidemic of riots in the black and Hispanic ghettos. This led to experimental grants to various gangs which bypassed City Hall for approval and were opposed by the FBI and local police.

An OEO grant of \$930,000 over a three-year period became operational in the spring of 1967; one year later the grant was cancelled because of heavy pressure against it by the Chicago Democratic Party machine and the southern Democrats in Congress. Both the Rangers and Disciples had fulfilled their end of the bargain: they had prevented riots on the black South Side of Chicago in the summer of 1967 and the spring of 1968.

With the founding of the BPP in Chicago in October, 1968, the gangs were again enlisted by the federal government into opposition to the BPP. Since government grants were out of the question, federal officials had the big foundations and individual rich people give to the gangs. The Rangers and the Conservative Vice Lords were showered with grant money from Clement Stone (of Combined Insurance of America); Sears, First National Bank of Chicago, among others. These gangs moved toward black capitalism and away from any form of revolutionary action. They formed the Black P Stone Nation, composed of 50 black and Latino gangs. They reached for getting a slice of the drug trade in black and Latino areas. The East Side Disciples changed their name to the Black Disciples, and formed an alliance with the BPP.

Early 1969 saw the BPP with three organizers in the Cabrini-Green Housing Projects on Chicago's North Side. They began Political Education classes, and Breakfast programs which were successful. Almost overnight, the Chicago Housing Authority moved five families from the Woodlawn area on Chicago's South Side--stronghold of the Black P Stone Nation--to Cabrini-Green. These are the families of five of the leaders of the Stones. These Stones organize a chapter of the CobraStones, who immediately begin to harass the BPP programs in Cabrini. Shoot-outs occur when the Stones shoot up the Political Education classes and the BPP shoots back. The Stones commit many crimes against the residents of Cabrini-Green, but no arrests occur. The Chicago police carefully look the other way as the Stones commit gang-banger crimes like battery and extortion. The BPP then organizes a paramilitary force of Cabrini residents to control the CobraStones. The BPP even scares away the CobraStones for about a month with an exemplary action, but all for naught. The indictments from the Currie case are handed down and the BPP cadres, including Jerry Dunigan, are not able to maintain their political work in Cabrini-Green. The CobraStones emerge as the force that dominates the Cabrini-Green Projects. The fight for control of Cabrini-Green is a fight for the natural base for BPP recruitment. But helped by the national and local ruling classes, the BPP is fronted-off by the power-hungry Stones.

Interestingly, the FBI does not want to work with either of the two groups and sends fake letters to both groups which will encourage instant hostility between them. Enticing the Stones to oppose the BPP was not done by the FBI but was done by other federal agencies far better adapted to handle co-optive tasks for the ruling class.

A final aspect of COINTELPRO is physical harassment of the BPP by the FBI and the Chicago police. The Chicago police killed BPP member Larry Roberson in August, 1969, after Roberson was shot in the stomach, taken to a hospital for a brief time to recover, then put in Bridewell prison where he died shortly thereafter. Both the shooting and his inadequate medical care point to a political killing. On October 5, 1969, sixteen-year-old John Soto was killed by a Chicago policeman in the Henry Horner Jousing Projects. John Soto had been active in mobilizing project people to fight for a new street light. This mobilization was spurred on by the BPP and John Soto was one of the leaders. On October 10, 1969, John's older brother Michael, also a leader in the struggle for the stoplight, was shot and killed by a Chicago police officer. Neither was armed, nor were they attacking the cops. They were apparently the victims of being identified as close associates of the BPP.

Jake Winters was less a victim than the others. Jake killed two Chicago cops on the night of November 13, 1969, after the police surrounded an abandoned building he was trapped in, after which he was shot and killed by another police officer. Jake had been a member of the BPP until a week before the shootout. Each of these shootouts and plain killings illustrates the central fact that COINTELPRO-targeted people have a high risk of being killed by the police.

To conclude this section on COINTELPRO there follows brief descriptions of three raids on the BPP in chronological order. On June 4, 1969, the FBI raided the BPP office at 2350 W. Madison Street. Allegedly they were looking for George Sams, an FBI informer posing as a street tough member of the BPP. O'Neal had told the FBI that Sams was at the office, so the FBI used the pretext to conduct a raid. The FBI took \$3,000 from the BPP, their membership and donor lists, tore up food cartons containing food for the Breakfast for Children program, and confiscated six guns which were never returned. The eight BPP members surrendered peacefully, but were arrested all the same. The raid did not catch George Sams, nor any lawbreaker, but it did frighten away supporters of the BPP programs. This was strictly an intimidation raid.

On July 31, 1969, the Chicago police made a raid on BPP headquarters on Madison Street. The raid was apparently the outcome of a macho verbal exchange between the police and the BPP. A serious shooting confrontation occurred in which the BPP members wounded half a dozen cops before they ran out of ammunition. When they surrendered to the cops, they were beaten with rifle butts, and hauled away in a police paddywagon. The Chicago police then set fire to their headquarters using liberal doses of gasoline to do the job. The arrested BPP members were also beaten on arrival at the police station. Neighborhood people were enraged at the police raid and rained rocks and bottles on the police.

The raid by Chicago police from the State Attorney's office on BPP living quarters on December 4, 1969, resulted in the deaths of Fred Hampton and Peoria leader Mark Clark. All evidence points to a deliberate assassination of Fred Hampton planned by the FBI. After the raid both State Attorney Edward Hanrahan, and the cop who lead the raid, Daniel Groth, told deliberately perjured testimony to the media. Hanrahan was caught lying almost immediately, but it took Groth six years before he changed his testimony under oath. None of the police officers in the raid were punished in the legal sense. The survivors of the raid, the Hampton and Clark families, plus the lawyers will split \$1.8 million in settlement of a civil suit. The last raid was it for the Illinois BPP--it quickly disintegrated. COINTELPRO had been quite effective in neutralizing the BPP.

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WHY was it that the Bolsheviks (for example) could be so heavily infiltrated, suffer many busts and setbacks of all kinds, and yet remain strong enough--effective enough--to seize power in 1917? There's probably no single or simple answer, but a few things stand out:

- 1) There was a significant level of ideological training and consistency among leadership and cadres, and extensive mass political education.
 - 2) There was a certain type of organizational structure, disciplined practice of principles, methods and style of work.
 - 3) There was a relatively secure system of communications.
 - 4) There was a mass-based infrastructure, and broad, active connections to the mass movement.
 - 5) The party construction began at the center, and spread outward.
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BEFORE we begin to talk about "public clandestinity," simply grab a dictionary and reflect on the following:

CLANDESTINE: secretly; to hide; held in, or conducted with, secrecy; surreptitious....

SURREPTITIOUS: done, made, or acquired by stealth....

STEALTHY: slow, deliberate, and secret in action or character; intended to escape observation....

SECRET: to keep from knowledge or view; marked by the habit of discretion; closemouthed; working with hidden aims or methods; revealed only to the initiated; constructed so as to elude observation or detection; something shared only confidentially with a few....

PUBLIC: the people; of, relating to, affecting all the people or the whole area of a nation or state; of, relating to, or being in the service of the community or nation; accessible to or shared by all members of the community; a group of people having common interests or characteristics; the group at which a particular activity or enterprise aims....

TASKS OF CADRES IN ORGANIZING BLACK WORKERS

By C.L. Marvin

Building a revolutionary mass movement entails moving all sectors of society. It also means building bases among the people. In order for any national mass movement to survive repression, it must have strong local bases rooted among the people. And, in order to be effective, the movement has to move beyond isolated local bases and struggles, to regional and national issues and coordination.

From practical experience the black community has learned that the main contradiction within the black liberation movement is economic. Black people have not been able to adequately finance revolutionary organizations to keep them a force, from one generation to another, and have failed to do extensive organizing at the point of production.

Revolutionary theory evolves from practice: learning from the lessons of practice, success and failure, correcting ideas in order to turn them into success. Theory, in turn, enriches and develops practice, through the relationship of practice, theory, practice. If one has a correct theory but does not put it into practice, then that theory is of no significance.

The overwhelming majority of black people are of the working class. To think in the interests of African-Americans one must be about organizing the black working class around their class interests. The interests of the black working class vary, but the most profound special interests are economic and political. The black working class faces economic exploitation/insecurity, and racial discrimination in employment opportunities and on the production line. Forced to face racist unions, foremen, working the hardest jobs for less wages, speed-up production, less the fringe benefits and non-unionization--especially in the South--black labor needs organization.

The central issue for cadres is organizing a mass organization of black workers. It is important for cadres to organize black workers at the point of production so that the black liberation movement in the 1980s and 1990s becomes a profound force.

On this point we would like to analyze base and superstructure. Base is the economy, while superstructure runs into the realm of ideas and institutions such as education, government, church, etc.

The movement was most effective when it impacted upon the economy with mass boycotts, sit-ins which led to demonstrations coordinated with boycotts. With the articulation of Black Power, the movement began to move from attacking the base, to the superstructure alone. This process was also repeated with the Black Panther Party. Only by organizing a mass organization of black workers which organizes economic and political strikes, seizes the means of production in mine take-overs, and organizes around working class interests, can the movement begin attacking the base again.

The black unemployed, the capitalist classes's industrial reserve army, must also be organized. Black workers and unemployed should be organized into a black workers organization. Black workers organization study groups should be established and secret in-plant cells should be organized. To move all

sectors of society, cadres must affect economic and labor relations, the political structure and education. Not only must blue collar black workers be organized, but white collar black workers must also be organized.

Campaigns dealing with unemployment, housing, and point of production work need to be organized. Cadres should try to unite black working class struggles with other community issues. Black working class struggles organized at the point of production should be taken to the community and then from the community back to the point of production. This will heighten national ("race") and class consciousness of the African oppressed nation, and will mobilize it to engage in protracted struggles. Cadres should point to events which are sharp enough or clear enough to bring out the contradictions of the system in order to win the masses over to the cause of revolution. Africans in America must begin to realize that the racist U.S. monopoly capitalist system is black peoples' enemy and that Africans must wage constant struggle against it.

For the living conditions of Africans in America to be improved rather than continue to deteriorate, Africans must learn from the historical experiences of the black liberation movement. The only time the capitalist system ever conceded any demands is when black people have engaged in mass struggles against it.

Black people must return to the streets as well as engage in mass struggles in the capitalist system's factories, schools, and government. We must return to mass civil disobedience as a strategy for disrupting the capitalist system at every turn.

As black people's economic conditions get worse, with black youth unemployment over 50%, Brothers and Sisters in South Africa are courageously struggling against white racist (apartheid) government, which is economically supported by the U.S. government. U.S.-based multi-national corporations have investments, plants, and other means of support in South Africa.

Black workers who work for companies with investments in South Africa should slow down production, strike, have political demonstrations in and take-overs of the plants, demanding that the multi-national corporations come out of South Africa.

The black liberation movement must begin to proceed in a new direction. The black liberation movement should prepare to engage in mass political strikes against the system.

Multi-national corporations reap more from the backs of Africans in Africa because of cheap labor and operating costs. At the same time, these corporations reap super-profits from black workers in America. Resistance to exploitation by black workers through a general strike is the antithesis or main contradiction of the international monopoly capitalist system, because in the final analysis a national struggle is a question of class struggle.

Black people should fully understand the dynamics of strikes. Capitalism is the name of the social system in which land, factories, implements of labor belong to a small number of landed proprietors and capitalists, while the masses possess no property, or very little property, and are compelled to hire themselves out as workers. Under capitalist economy, the masses of people are the hired workers of others, they do not work for themselves but work for employers for wages. Employers always try to reduce wages because the less they give the workers, the greater their profit. Workers try to get the highest possible wage in order to provide their families with wholesome and sufficient food, clothing and shelter. A constant struggle is going on between employers and

workers over wages. Strikes are means in which workers organize their labor power. Every strike reminds workers that their position is not hopeless and that they are not alone:

A strike teaches workers to understand what the strength of the employers and what the strength of the workers consists in; it teaches them not to think of their own employer alone, but of all the employers, the whole class of capitalists and the whole class of workers.

(V.I. Lenin, ON TRADE UNIONS, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970, p.63.)

Many times strikes strengthen and develop workers' understanding that the government is their enemy and that the working class as a whole must prepare itself to struggle against the government. Strikes most often teach workers to unite. This is why strikes are called "a school of war," a school where workers learn to make war on their enemies for the liberation of the people as a whole.

Cadres must realize, though, that mass strikes can only take place when the historical conditions for them are ripe. They can't be made on command. Only when class conflicts have become so pronounced and the political situation so intense that parliamentary means are no longer sufficient to advance the cause of the proletariat, will the mass strike be urgently necessary. Although it may not bring unconditional victory, it is immensely useful to the cause of the proletariat.

The mass black general strike is the call for national unity among all black workers to struggle and fight against big business (capitalist) racism. Black workers can paralyze the entire country with a national strike against all major industries and big businesses. The most important industries that America depends on for survival must be targeted (i.e., communications, transportation, military production and supplies, shipping, international electronic and satellite transfer of funds, etc.). Many industries vital to America's survival cannot function without black labor; these industries turn over huge profits due to large output production or labor time produced by black workers and are vitally necessary for capitalism to flourish. Six million black workers on strike would bring the economy to a standstill.... Cadres should lay the groundwork for it now, by daily contact with black workers and by being involved in every issue that affects the people.

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THE ROLE OF THE NEW AFRIKAN HISTORIAN

By Mike McCoy

After thinking about the importance of history in the life of an oppressed people, a few ideas have occurred to me. Foreexample, what is the role of the historian in an oppressed nation? Should the historian teach history impartially and without reference to politics? I contend that the New Afrikan historian can play a vital role in the liberation of the nation, and that history--by its very nature--is political. No historian is completely impartial unless one is not a historian, but a mere compiler of facts. Every historical work is one of interpretation. The historian must be selective, must assign certain facts greater historical significance than others.

I believe that it's imperative for historians of oppressed nations to understand how the development of capitalism in Europe impacted the continents of Asia, Afrika, and Latin America. Without this understanding it is impossible for one to have a clear perspective of international relations between developed and underdeveloped nations. Unequal development between nations, national chauvinism, racial animosity, etc., are the products of a historical process that can be understood through the study of history.

I believe, in particular, that the New Afrikan historian must understand that our nation was forged through slavery. Hundreds of Afrikan tribes, varied in dialect and culture, were uprooted from Afrika and dispersed throughout Amerikkka. The struggle to survive the genocidal nature of chattle slavery was the basis which led to the formation of the New Afrikan Nation. The term "NEW" attached to Afrikan simply denotes the unique experience of so many tribes being forged into a single nation. Thus, the term New Afrikan attempts to explain the historical character and formation of our nation.

The nation exists both in potentiality and actuality. Evidence of its existence can be seen as early as the 18th century, when enslaved Afrikans rebelled against the settler-colonialists, and sought to establish "Black/Afrikan Republics." Evidence can also be seen through the existence of political and economic organizations (i.e., the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood; the Black Sharecroppers Union) and scores of other nationalist organizations that attempted to express themselves through a struggle against national domination. It's a mistake to assume that the U.N.I.A. was our only nationalist organization of the 1900s. Marcus Garvey was but the tip of the iceberg of a growing national awareness among the masses of New Afrikans. Most of these organizations, however, were destroyed through various maneuvers by the U.S. government. But, the awareness of a national reality among New Afrikans continues on. Evidence of this was demonstrated through the mobilization of New Afrikans against the "Jim Crow" colonial regime of the South. Millions upon millions of New Afrikans were awakened to political life and political issues. It was widely agreed that New Afrikan people were not free. Awareness of separate nationhood grew...of not being part of the U.S. oppressor nation. This was seen in the re-examination of culture, in language, religion, dress, and art. The masses of New Afrikans began to reject loyalty to the U.S. empire. To talk revolution against the U.S. government was accepted. The U.S. government understood well through its involvement in Vietnam and observing of national liberation struggles around the world, that national awareness, if it continues to develop, inevitably leads to revolu-

tion. It leads to the seizure and control of land. The U.S. government acted swiftly to curb this developing national awareness among New Afrikans through careful, calculated military attacks against our nationalist organizations. Hundreds of New Afrikans were assassinated, imprisoned, or driven underground. But, just like the 1920s and 1930s, the U.S. government was not able to destroy the nationalist movement among New Afrikans.

New Afrikan nationalist consciousness continues to express itself through our music, language, dress, politics and art, etc. The responsibility of the New Afrikan historian is to maintain and deepen the national awareness among the masses of New Afrikans. The New Afrikan historian must endeavor tirelessly to make the masses aware of themselves as an oppressed nation. It's a contradiction for the New Afrikan historian to reject the culture-domination of the Euro-American oppressor nation and not reject the political and economic domination of the oppressor nation. Would one argue that one form of domination is more acceptable than the other?

The capability of a nation to progress is conditioned by both internal and external factors. The internal factor has to do with the ability of a nation to provide its people with food, shelter, clothes, education, and other such essentials that are needed to develop the potential of a people. The external factor has to do with the ability of a nation to determine its relationship with other nations. To determine, for example, whether to have trade relations with Cuba or Zimbabwe, for whatever reasons the nation deems advantageous. An oppressed nation, by its very definition, is a nation that lacks the capacity to control its internal and external affairs. It's a nation without political control over itself. At this historic moment the forces which impede the development of the New Afrikan nation are the political and economic domination of our nation by the Euro-American oppressor nation.

The responsibility of the New Afrikan historian is to develop awareness around this reality and cultivate the necessary consciousness among New Afrikans to confront these forces. When the nationally oppressed historian writes, he/she must utilize the past with the intention of opening up the future, of inviting action and of building hope. But to assure hope, and to give a picture of the future, the New Afrikan historian must understand that such projections are only possible once the New Afrikan nation is independent. Until such time, the development of the Nation, the development of our history and culture, will continue to be arrested by the political and economic domination of the Euro-American oppressor nation.

National Independence or Death!

National Independence So That Culture
And History May Flourish!

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ON NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION,
MASS ORGANIZATION, AND COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

By Max Stanford (A. Muhammad Ahmed)

I

Our science, the science of Marxism-Leninism, the science of revolution, teaches us that the masses are the collective master. Marxism-Leninism teaches cadres to learn from--but at the same time to educate and lead--the masses.

National liberation revolutions do not occur overnight. In our situation --being an oppressed nation within the boundaries of the most sophisticated imperialist state which is the citadel of world capitalism--revolutionaries must pay close attention to the protracted nature of our struggle. The Russian revolution went through three revolutions before entering the socialist phase.

The African national liberation revolution is a national democratic revolution which has not yet completed its bourgeois democratic phase, so it is difficult with the "political backwardness" of the masses--including the black proletariat (working class)--to skip this stage and enter directly into the socialist phase.

The black revolution is both a national liberation revolution and a bourgeois democratic revolution, but the latter is a new type, led by the working class and not by the national black pseudo-bourgeoisie.

The black revolution is a people's national democratic revolution, led by the working class and relying on the worker-underclass alliance. This revolution should and can become a socialist one and take our oppressed nation to socialism going from national oppression under direct capitalist-imperialist exploitation to the stage of socialist development under self-determination.

The black revolution and the Chicano revolution are the domestic Achilles heel, weakest links in the imperialist system. The black revolution is closely related to the revolution for socialism of the oppressor nation proletariat (Anglo-American metropolitan nation "white America"); BUT IT IS NOT SUBORDINATE TO IT. THAT IS TO SAY THAT AFRICANS IN AMERICA CAN ADVANCE TO SELF-DETERMINATION, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM IN THE "BLACK BELT SOUTH" PRIOR TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE NORTHERN SECTION OF THE OPPRESSOR NATION "ANGLO-AMERICA."

Unlike petty-bourgeois and narrow nationalists organizations, our national liberation front must educate the masses of Africans in America to discriminate between the Anglo-American capitalists-imperialists (our oppressors and exploiters) from the progressive sectors of the Anglo-American working class and people in order to identify and unite with our allies who will support the African-American just struggle for self-determination and socialism.

Our people's main enemies at present are the capitalist class and the black American collaborators and traitors who represent the reactionary petty-bourgeois and pro-Anglo-American comprador black bourgeoisie.

Why do we demand self-determination? Because we as a people collectively have never had the right to determine our destiny.

While Africans in America demand "equality" (proportional representation according to our numbers), such equality can never be achieved under the capitalist system because capitalism is based on racial discrimination and national oppression.

The 1970s will be recorded as a rich period in ideological and pre-revolution development. Several trends emerged. Several bourgeois tendencies were politically defeated, preparing the ground for a scientific movement in the 1980s. These developments need to be studied by cadres.

An initial summary of the 1970s has to take into account the development and growth of higher levels of organization of the African national liberation revolution. This period must be summed up in order for us to move to greater correctness. Marxism-Leninism became an important issue in the struggle of the 70s. But the incorrect understanding of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the objective conditions of the U.S. imperialist state and the national reality of New Afrika, led many neophytes who lacked the understanding of our movement, to call for and become involved in multi-national Marxist-Leninist formations which retarded the movement. The cadres' failure to understand the laws of uneven development, the objective/subjective relations between the white oppressor national proletariat and the oppressed black nation, blinds them from seeing the need for a black revolutionary cadre. Tied to the democratic centralism of others, they become agents for IDEOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM inside the black nation. They follow the line of either the soviet Union, China or albania; and fail to do creative critical thinking and develop an independent line for the black nation. Thus, they incorrectly parrot others who have little understanding of the black liberation movement and give a bad name to Marxism-Leninism.

These cadres must be embraced, educated, and won over to build a powerful black revolutionary center inside the black liberation movement. By building a national liberation front of all progressive forces we'll advance the cause of socialism.

Mysticism, ideological imperialism, and petty-bourgeois cultural nationalism must be vigorously fought back by the black revolutionary front. Also, the black Marxist-Leninist formation must fight the petty-bourgeois that vacillates and sometimes collaborates with the enemy and must wage a fierce struggle against the comprador black bourgeoisie.

At the same time, the black Marxist-Leninist formation wages class, ideological struggles in the movement, it must also work with all classes and black people of all ideological persuasions, and peacefully win them over to the correct line.

The black Marxist-Leninist formation must master the laws of the African national democratic revolution; that of uniting the entire black nation working through the broad national black united front, progressive and labor formations, but it must also maintain its independence in the front and continuously wage class/ideological struggles as well.

Political education must be continuous, serve to weld Africans in America together as one. Political education should contain three aspects: 1) Marxist-Leninist theory (creative); 2) Line and policy; 3) Revolutionary morality.

Political theorists in social revolutions must be scientists of human behavior in order to move people to revolution. In carrying out the practice of political theory, cadres must be social psychologists. Cadres must know the people, mingle among, talk to, listen to, learn from and blend in with the people. Cadres must study personality types, know their motivations, and be able to predict their actions. Cadres must know the people's street culture, know how to appeal to and transform them into political activists.

Political theorists must continuously study people, society, people's history and present conditions, in order to be able to predict behavior (individual and collective) before it occurs. KEY IN POLITICAL THEORY IS PLANNING SOCIAL CHANGE IN RELATION TO THE OBJECTIVE REALITY AND SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONING OF THE PEOPLE.

Cadres can't lead the revolutionary movement of our people to victory unless they have revolutionary theory and HAVE A PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE OF OUR PEOPLE'S MORES AND HISTORY. Above all, they must understand how to put theory and knowledge to action through actual practice in day-to-day struggle and practical organizing. A good cadre can get his or her ideas across to the people to move the people (organize and mobilize) to act upon his or her ideas (ideology) making it a reality. In order to do this properly, we must study, must re-study, must organize, must re-organize, learn and re-learn. THE ORGANIZER'S IDEAS IN TURN MUST BE A REFLECTION OF THE PEOPLE'S DESIRES AND NEEDS. Ideas must come out of the people's history. Through this process we can move to victory.

WHAT WE MUST DO: The black revolutionary must learn humility. Humility is not a sign of weakness, but rather a sign of internal strength and love for the people. When we as a people stop brow-beating one another and learn what national consciousness and loyalty is, then we can move toward socialism. But, if we don't love and respect ourselves first as a people and stop fighting stealing and killing one another, how can we be instrumental in bringing forth a better social system? And, as the world is today, if socialism were to come about, we--Africans in America--would be one of the weakest nations because we have little love for ourselves.

In this "legal-lull" period, African revolutionaries need to utilize the electoral process and run REVOLUTIONARIES on an independent political party ticket. This will advance a revolutionary democratic program publicly, and will educate the masses to struggle to make these ideas a material reality.

African revolutionaries need to place strong emphasis on the youth of our nation, training them systematically and scientifically, armed with the theory of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, preparing them to carry on the struggle to liberate New Afrika. The struggle to liberate New Afrika must be defined in scientific terms; that is, a dialectical plan (broad strategy) not "tactics" must be engrained in our youth showing how our nation can become liberated. Once politically socialized, a generation willing to carry the struggle forward will emerge, dedicated and wanting to be part of the clandestine African Marxist-Leninist formation.

The violence that our people display to one another must be channeled towards the oppressive capitalist system and those who are willing to defend the system no matter what color they are.

But, we cannot talk about revolution, self-determination, national independence or socialism, until we first clean up and gain control over our communities. This generation of black youth have lost all sense of values. They respect nothing and no one. There is a serious crisis between black men and women in our communities. the black family is disintegrating. Until we deal with the social crisis in the black community, we cannot move to revolution.

II

ON MASS ORGANIZATION

When dealing with the question of organizing the masses prior to revolution, every revolutionary cadre has had difficulty in working out the method of successful mass organization. This is due to the fact that the revolutionary cadre usually has problems in developing organizations, zones of mass support, until the people through traumatic experience, learn that the revolutionary organization is right in its analysis.

From other revolutions, cadre have learned that three elements of the people are more prone to revolution than other sectors. They are: 1) Young workers; 2) student-youth; 3) radicalized lumpen-proletariat.

The petty-bourgeoisie (colonial) in national liberation revolutions come over to support of the revolution usually late in the struggle, even though at times they start the passive resistance stage of the revolution. Revolutionaries must keep in mind that the major revolutions which have been successful have taken general lines of development and must organize and gage the changing conditions of the people.

The major revolutions that have had similar developments are the Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cuban and Algerian revolutions (reference to revolutions lead by a Marxist or Marxist-oriented cadre).

If cadres study these revolutions closely, they will see that prior to major mass uprisings of the masses there were great ideological battles within the ranks of the potential revolutionaries; the key question the revolutionary organization was concerned with was national organization, mobilization, and communication; and the elimination as much as possible of the laws of uneven development. In all these revolutions they developed from student movements with the leadership emerging from the students ranks uniting with the interests of the toiling masses.

In attempting to make the black revolution successful, black revolutionaries must be careful in how they view revolutionary development for they can easily fall into a trap of missing the key or link to unlocking the spark within the African people that will lead to a major mass uprising. Before any successful move to seize power can be made, the revolutionary organization must make a thorough analysis of the conditions of the people and must find the link that can provide the turning point of the movement that will advance the class struggle to a higher stage of development.

The genius of Mao Tse Tung during the Chinese revolution was that he foresaw the leading insurrectionary tendency of the peasants; being the majority of the people in Chinese society in relation to the industrial working class.

Colonial (national liberation) revolutions take on different characteristics than classical revolutions, even when the colonial revolution encompasses both a national democratic and socialist character. Colonial revolutions have more of a national character embracing every element of the population, uniting it against the oppressor nation or its puppet lackeys.

Comrades who have learned to hate the black bourgeoisie must be very careful not to allow themselves to fall prey to sectarian or narrow thinking and over emphasize class differences among the African people. At the same time, cadres must also guard against romanticizing the all-class character of the African national liberation revolution.

No matter what class or strata cadres are from (which is not too different), what counts is a cadre's maintaining working class consciousness and a willingness to struggle, learn and relearn. The revolutionary organization must also beware of any tendency towards self-righteousness and of any egotistical claim to be "the" people, no matter what cadres' personal experiences are. What the revolutionary organization must realize is that at present the masses have not learned the need for revolutionary struggle and they will learn this through attempting to reform the oppressive state. This is a long process and takes great patience on the part of cadres. Also, no one person or group can claim to be "the" people just because they have working class or lumpen backgrounds. Cadres must learn that the people change and so must they, in their outlooks, until we have successfully carried out a victorious revolution.

Any claim to be "the" people is an egotistical romanticization of one's self, and a degrading outlook toward the people. Cadres may basically know how the people feel and may be from the people class-wise, but the road back to the people--advancing, organizing, and leading the masses correctly--is a long hard road, one which can only be measured after the revolution has been successful. This tendency stems from a lack of serious analysis and in order to cover up for this lack of concrete analysis, we romanticize ourselves.

The victory of the revolution depends primarily on a correct determination of the general orientation and objective for each period. But just as important as defining the orientation and objective is the problem of how to carry them into effect once such decisions have been made. What road should be followed? What forms should be adopted? What measures should be used?

(Le Duan, THIS NATION AND SOCIALISM ARE ONE; Chicago: Vanguard Books, 1976, p.17)

Another tendency the revolutionary cadre must guard against is romanticizing the people. While cadres should have faith in the people, without scientific revolutionary analysis (Marxism-Leninism) and a politically disciplined cadre of revolutionaries, the revolution will not be successful, especially inside U.S. borders. Revolutions can and have been defeated, overthrown, subverted, from within and set back.

Building Mass Organization: The organizer seeks to win the people over to his or her point of view in degrees. The organizer seeks to take the people through stages of development, taking them from where they are now, by organizing around popular issues (usually reform issues); moving the people step by step toward revolution. THE MASS ORGANIZATION MUST BE BUILT ON THE DAILY STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE AND MAINTAINED AROUND ISSUES THAT THE PEOPLE CAN SEE SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED:

A revolutionary struggle unfolds steadily in all spheres of social life--political, economic, and cultural. Hence, constant success in each area of combat requires the mobilization and organization of the masses to undermine

the enemy's successive policies and thwart every one of his schemes and maneuvers. It is necessary to point out and attain at all costs every objective possible in a given period or during a specific battle, thereby impelling the movement forward and bringing it to a higher level. (Ibid. p.22)

The mass organization must serve as a community helper, and must give the people something either materially or spiritually. The mass organization must have a complete life in order to influence the people to change their negative or counter-revolutionary aspects in their life-style. By having a scientific internationalist cultural life, the mass organization affects the basic mass structure: the family. Having influence on the black family is basic for mass mobilization because even with the breakdown of the black family, the family is still the basic unit for socialization of the people. The family is the most influential local institution around which mass activity can be carried out. The family is the basic unit of cultural values. It is the perpetrator of informal law, mores, political outlook and social habit. So, the revolutionary cadre in building the mass organization needs to incorporate a scientific revolutionary family life that will radicalize the black family.

Revolutionary cadres should also organize in bars and pool rooms and beauty parlors, because while five million Africans in America still go to church on Sunday, many patronize the bars, pool rooms and beauty parlors during the week and especially on week-ends. The bar can become a community center or gathering place to discuss revolutionary ideas.

In order to make the mass organization into an organization that is sustained from one generation to the next, the organization must constantly recruit from the youth and have a viable youth program. As a revolutionary cadre is taught, trained and develops, if he or she intends for the mass organization to grow and stay viable during the years, he or she must recruit and teach someone younger than they, because with each day of struggle, they are getting older.

III

ON BUILDING COMMUNICATIONS NETWORKS (CN'S)

Communications Networks are built around the idea that the message of the revolutionary sector of the black liberation movement is not getting across to the broad masses of our people. Therefore, their consciousness becomes retarded. CN's also operate off the premise that there is a sector of the population that is receptive to revolutionaries, but do not know where to get the material.

Therefore, the purpose of CN's is to create, build/expand, the revolutionary network and to "package"/program the message (ideology, program, directives, lessons) of the revolutionary sector. The goal of CN's is to develop an alternative communications network. This network is based on people, with the objective of finding "live" contacts among the people; increase self-organization; education of the masses; and, to eventually develop a courier/cell system among the people. This can be done by establishing a mail order

business and selling products to people which helps people increase their scope and analytical abilities. CN's would also use the present communications systems such as radio, cable t.v., etc.

The object of every CN is to build up a network of at least 1,000 people with the goal of reaching 10,000. Successful CN's would concentrate on training others to set up other CN's. If twenty (20) CN's were reaching 200,000 people then 200 CN's could reach 2 million.

The concept of CN's operate off the premise that the superstructure of the system which the communications industry is a part of, constantly "programs" backward capitalist ideology into our people. This can be seen by the "political backwardness" of this generation of black youth. CN's are needed not only to "get the message to our people," but also to politically train them.

We suggest that this type of cell should be a special and very compact form of organization. Such a cell will have two or three members who are well-versed in struggle, and will probably have a one-way contact with politico-military groups. The specific task of such a cell is to multiply the publications of guerrilla organizations, and possibly publish classical works directly relevant to the armed movement. Such publications will then be circulated amongst politico-economic groups. A one-way contact between politico-economic groups and a publishing cell will insure a longer period of activity for the latter. The setting up of publishing cells will greatly lighten the burden of work on guerrilla organizations and save them the risk involved in distributing published materials; it will further help politico-economic groups by strengthening their position vis-a-vis the police.

(Bizham Jozani, ARMED STRUGGLE IN IRAN: THE ROAD TO THE MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES, Iran Committee, London, p.34)

CN's should be creative in their approach to getting the message across and should eventually establish economic co-ops--business training centers to institutionalize their efforts.

People's Communication System: When reviewing the 1960s, the era of mass activism for human rights by Africans in America, we should ask ourselves what was good and what was bad about the 60s? Everything wasn't good in the 60s. What were some of the weaknesses of the era?

Actions in the 1960s were basically based on spontaneity. The movement progressed from one spontaneous development to another. But more important, the central weakness after 1965 was the "loud bad-mouthing," through the capitalist press, about what black people were going to do. This was foolish left wing romanticism. WAR IS NOT WON BY "MACHO MAN." War is won by shrewd, keen, sound and wise planning. As a result of the weakness of the movement in the sixties to develop its own communication network other than the grape-

vine, the movement had to rely on the capitalist mass media to project its message to black people. The African movement for national liberation and self-determination cannot afford to make the same mistakes again in the 1980s. With many instruments of modern technology accessible to poor people, black revolutionaries should put them to good use. Political lessons, directives and documents should be put on cassette tapes, and sold in the underground market. Homemade political education and history lessons need to be made on 8mm films. Community sessions on political economy (esp. black people's relation to the capitalist-imperialist economy, and how to build a "transitional" economic base in the midst of struggle) and future direction of the black liberation struggle need to be held on a regular basis, documented (paper and film), and circulated.

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WHAT IS a "mass-based" underground?

It's something we must build...it's something we must build up to. That is, building relates to technical and structural aspects, organizational problems, etc. Building up to all this implies creating an atmosphere, conducting ideological, theoretical and political struggles; battles to win minds and shape opinions; the thousands of skirmishes waged in campaigns to instill, heighten, and direct consciousness.

A "mass-based" underground is really nothing more than the kind of mass movement we need in order to win. It's where "underground" activity is conducted in "public" by "aboveground" cadres. Such an "underground" becomes a reality the more its members include: bus drivers; steel workers; word processors; bank tellers; police officers; butchers; shoe salespersons; school teachers; chemists; postal workers; janitors; stock brokers; marines; sanitation workers; lawyers; food supervisors and short-order cooks; clerk-typists; barbers; fashion designers; disk jockeys; merchant marines; film critics; parole officers; office managers; tailors; journalists and editors of newspapers and magazines; college professors; correctional officers; customs agents; senators; truck drivers; union stewards; deacons and nuns; engineers of all kinds; ham radio operators--do you get the drift?

CAPITALISM AND THE BLACK EXPERIENCE

Kenid Abdul Batin, Chairman
Pontiac Black Activist League

As black people, when we think about capitalism, we must simultaneously think about slavery, because the foundation of modern-day monopoly capitalism was built from the sweat, tears and blood of our ancestors.

Capitalism was not an invention of black people; capitalism developed in Europe, and because of its very nature had to expand outside of Europe. This expansion resulted in colonialism, the enslavement, subjugation, oppression and exploitation of non-white people for "profits."

The European capitalist expansion to America resulted in the phenomenon known as Domestic Colonialism: the genocide and land-robbery of the Native American Indians, and the forced migration and enslavement of Afrikan people. In America, capitalism's roots are anti-black; the justification (legal) of slavery, due to the alleged inferiority of blacks; black people in America were (and are still) a legally created group, as a result of chattel slavery, the three-fifths Amendment, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and Civil Rights.

As a result of colonialism and Domestic Colonialism, Europeans and America developed both industrially and culturally. As Eric Williams in his book CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY states, "The development of the steam engine, heavy industry, ship building, manufacturing, and many modern financial institutions were all financed directly or indirectly by the slave trade and forms of Colonial exploitation."

One of the major fatalities of our enslavement was the destruction of our culture. The colonial slavemasters saw the need to strip us of our languages and knowledge of our previous culture and social systems. Much of the reason involved the fact that our communal and economic systems were so antagonistic to the commodity production that slavery served. Before our ancestors were enslaved, their economic systems in Afrika were primarily based on communalism, a socio-economic system in which people came before profit, and there was an egalitarian distribution of wealth. It was based on the cultural emphasis of group survival, and not individual survival, which is the basis of capitalist social relations.

Historically, black people, as a result of ignorance, misleaders, propaganda and coercion, have accepted our oppressor's economic philosophy of capitalism as a solution to our oppression. But, as Brother George Jackson stated, "So what do they mean by saying that we must get in with them, be like them, adopt capitalism, clothe ourselves in Western ways? This is a strange and contradictory thing. If we the colored and black of the world adopt capitalism, where would we have to seek our colonies, Europe or the U.S.?! Who would we capitalize on if we used their history as a pattern? Then I should say! Who would we kidnap, murder, lynch, enslave and then neglect? So what do they mean by saying 'Do as I do'? I don't think--well I know they are not serious, not sincere. I think they are employing another trick, a ploy to further confuse us and use us. I think what they mean is not 'Do as I do' but 'Do as I say.'"

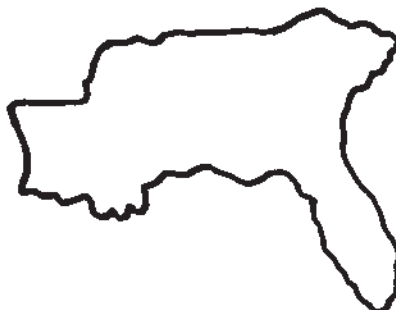
It has now been 121 years since slavery ended, where do we find ourselves in the American capitalist system today? We find ourselves in an utter state of powerlessness (neo-slavery) and hopelessness (self-defeat, self-hatred and self-abuse) in our communities. Our powerlessness (unemployment and poverty) stems from racist capitalism: private profits for whites, while neglecting the social needs of blacks. Our situation of Domestic colonialism (powerlessness) was an inevitable outcome of slavery. As George Jackson stated, "Has any people ever been independent that own neither land nor tool?"

In his book THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE BLACK GHETTO, William Tabb describes our situation of domestic colonialism: "The economic relations of the black ghetto to white America closely parallel those between third-world nations and the industrially advanced countries. The ghetto also has a relatively low per capita income and a high birth rate. Its residents are for the most part unskilled. Businesses lack capital, local markets are limited. The incidence of credit is high. Little savings takes place and what is saved is usually not invested locally. Goods and services tend to be 'imported' for the most part, only the simplest and the most labor-intensive being produced locally. The ghetto is dependent on one basic export--its unskilled labor power."

To gain power in our communities, we must control the politics and economics (businesses) in our communities. We must understand that presently, only the black middle class and others (Arabs, etc.) benefit from the resources in the black community. If the community as a whole (black masses) is to benefit, then the community as a whole must be organized politically (self-determination) to manage collectively its internal economy. Black businesses must be treated and operated as social property, belonging to the general black community, not as the private property of individuals or limited groups of individuals.

No longer can we afford to rely on our so-called black middle class political leaderships, because they are opportunistic, and their program of integration, voting, and legalism (civil rights) is bankrupt. The politics of self-determination and cooperative economics is the basis of control (power) for our communities, and this will begin the process of dismantling our domestic colonial relationship with the American empire.

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ON OUR USE OF THE WORD "COMRAD"

Atiba Shanna

We've gotten several letters in which we've been asked to define the word "Comrad," and to explain why we spell it as we do.

Some time ago, many of our comrades began to use "rade" or "rad" as a shortened form of "comrade." It could be said that this expression derived from our peculiar way with the english language, or from the development of our own language or dialect.

From this way of spelling the word, some of us were soon using it as an exclusive reference to our comrades, e.g., members of our organization. This usage was inspired, in large part, by our feeling that the word "comrade" was being used too loosely by the left, and that it had lost much of its political meaning. For instance, to some people, a "comrade" was merely a companion or a close associate. To others, a "comrade" was a fellow soldier, and little thought was given to the "politics in command" of the term and the concept. To still others, "comrade" was a form of address used among communists, and was considered synonymous with communist.

Furthermore, we were also drawn toward our particular definition and spelling of "comrad" for other reasons. At the time, we felt the need to give the word meaning which would contribute to our process of ideological and organizational consolidation; to the creation and strengthening of an esprit de corps.

When it became necessary to articulate the reasons for our definition and spelling of "comrad," we relied upon words by Amilcar Cabral as our point of reference.

In his "Our People Are Our Mountains," Cabral says: "I call you 'comrades' rather than 'brothers and sisters' because if we are brothers and sisters it's not from choice, it's no commitment; but if you are my comrades, I am your comrade, too, and that's a commitment and a responsibility."

Cabral expressed himself in similar terms in RETURN TO THE SOURCE, where he says: "Naturally if you ask me between brothers and comrades what I prefer-- if we are brothers it is not our fault or our responsibility. But if we are comrades, it is a political engagement. Naturally we like our brothers, but in our conception, it is better to be a brother and a comrade. We like our brothers very much, but we think that if we are brothers we have to realize the responsibility of this fact and take clear positions about our problems in order to see if, beyond this condition of brothers, we are also comrades. This is very important for us."

Therefore, we choose to be comrades, and we use this particular spelling to acknowledge having made the choice. Our comrades are those who have made a particular commitment to organizational responsibility, and pledged themselves to specific "political engagement."

However, we do also have comrades--with whom we share a more general political engagement....

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